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SOCIOLOGY OF CLARENCE M. CASE

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This is the first attempt made thus far to bring together the sociological contributions of Clarence Marsh Case. It presents the essence of Case's sociological thought for a period of more than thirty years. It is organized in terms of eight major concepts, beginning with nonviolent coercion, which attracted international recognition, and including the concept of social age upon which Case was working when his health failed. These concepts have been presented in what seems to be the chronological sequence of their development.

I

The unique conclusions of Case in connection with each concept may be summarized and grouped as follows:

Nonviolent coercion. 1. The practice of nonviolence may be classified in three main types—nonresistance, nonviolent resistance, and nonviolent coercion. Nonresistance means the absence of resistance and is based on the literal translation of the teachings of Jesus. It has a religious significance and its purpose is not related to social control. Nonviolent resistance means resistance by nonviolent or nonphysical means. It is a defensive action. Nonviolent coercion means not only resisting but also coercing or compelling by nonviolent means. It contains both a defensive and offensive element. Nonviolent coercion is the more accurate term for the present-day practice of nonviolence as illustrated in the labor strike.

2. Nonviolent coercion is potentially a just and powerful method of social control, but it requires for its success or efficiency the support of a large number of determined people who are willing to exert great energy and undergo hardship and sacrifice over a long period of time. Nonviolent methods of social control function more effectively when both parties in the conflict hold similar sets of social and cultural values.

3. Nonviolence may defeat itself because of the tendency of such action to disintegrate through the discouragement and despair of the followers and to breed violence through this discontent and frustration.

4. The practice of nonviolence is more an outgrowth of cultural environment than of biological and psychological factors.

5. In terms of final analysis the most dependable and most constructive technique in the practice of nonviolent coercion is the use of the secret ballot by an enlightened public trained in democratic procedures.

The role of culture. 1. Culture is a distinctively human trait because it is cumulative, externally stored, and socially transmitted by means of tools and symbols.

2. Social evolution is largely cultural evolution in that the all-important cause of social evolution seems to lie in cultural contacts.

3. A culture consists of the social values and attitudes of a society. The objective aspects of culture constitute the subject matter of sociology and its subjective aspects belong in the field of social psychology.

Social religion. 1. The function of religion, both institutionalized and personal, is the improvement of man's earthly welfare.

2. The sociology of religion is the study of the relation of religion to group life and culture with special reference to the development of personality.

Social progress. 1. Social progress is societal betterment or more of the values held by a society to be good.

2. Social progress is a social process comprised of three major sub-processes which represent the criteria of progress, namely, efficient utilization of resources, democratic distribution, and appreciation of social values.

3. Social progress may be accelerated and directed chiefly in three ways: education, legislation, and religion. In addition, the practice of eugenics might be an aid if and when the laws of genetics are finally understood.

4. Societal self-direction is within the power of civilized man, but its success depends upon a renovation of values in which the emphasis is less on the materialistic and more on the appreciational aspects of life.

Social engineering. 1. Societal planning is a function of social rather than technical engineers, and the goals of this planning should be selected by specially qualified men working in the interests of the common welfare.

2. Societal planning is necessary to counteract the destructive effects of machine technology and to realize the full benefit of mechanization.

Leadership. Leadership is largely a matter of the conjuncture of certain elements, namely, the personality, the social situation, and the specific event.

Social values. 1. Values are the selected objects of living beings, and social values are those objects which have meaning particularly to living beings who are members of a society. The positive social values include association, the group, group habitat, the common meal, mutual aid, and status. Solitude, beyond certain limits, is a negative social value. Social values may be rated according to their imperativeness, inclusiveness, and universality.

2. The conflict between social values is basic to all social problems.

Social age (socialization). 1. One of the obstacles to social progress is the social infantility of individuals. When this trait is dominant in groups it becomes societal imbecility and refers to the unintelligent, groping, blundering behavior of social groups which are unable to conduct themselves for their own best interests.

2. The degree of socialization of a personality in relation to its chronological age—social age—is a factor of great importance in the behavior of persons who live in groups.

II

Case's methodology and approach may be described as follows:

1. Case was essentially a social philosopher, much given to speculation and theorizing. He was creative and imaginative and seldom allowed himself to be restricted mentally by rigid formulas. His habit of thinking followed somewhat the method of tentative growth described by Cooley.[1] His thoughts went out to one problem and then another as they appeared to him. His inspiration often came from his own personal experiences or observations, and sometimes the publication of a new book or the proposal of a new theory suggested an issue. Not even in his class lectures did he repeat, year after year, the same systematic theory. Instead, it was his custom to expand extemporaneously on a general outline previously prepared. As a result, his lectures were punctuated with original aphorisms and scintillating generalizations.

His research studies are based chiefly upon case materials drawn from historical sources, statistics, and the findings of anthropological investigations; the materials for his uncompleted research consisted of his own systematic observations. He arrived at generalizations through the process of induction.

2. Case was a cultural sociologist. He approached the study of social phenomena through their relation to culture. For example, he associated

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[1] Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Process* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), pp. 3-18.

the practice of nonviolence with cultural conditioning. He made social values synonymous with the objective aspect of culture. He declared that social progress involves a remolding of culture of social values and attitudes and that through education and other cultural devices society might direct itself. He made socialization of personality a matter of habit formation through social and cultural influences. Even leadership he explained primarily on the basis of a conjuncture of cultural factors.

III

The origin and development of Case's major concepts seem to represent logical reactions to certain inciting factors. For example, nonviolent coercion, social engineering, and the conjuncture hypothesis of leadership grew out of social events taking place at the time of their inception. Case's research on nonviolent coercion was carried on during and immediately following World War I when interest in peaceful means of settling disputes was prevalent. The economic depression which struck the United States about 1930, and the subsequent rise of the Technocrats, brought to his attention the need for social engineering. The economic depression also emphasized the need for leadership particularly in the social, economic, and political fields, and a number of writers focused attention on the training of leaders. Case challenged many of the suggestions for developing leaders with his conjuncture hypothesis of leadership.

His work in connection with the role of culture in sociology—with social religion, social progress, and social values—seems to have been inspired by the incipient social thought of his contemporaries. Despite the work of men like Spencer and Sumner, the cultural factor was not yet recognized to any extent in the teaching of sociology in 1924 when Case published the first text in sociology which emphasized the cultural approach. In 1926 when Case wrote the syllabus on the sociology of religion, that field was in its infancy, undefined and uncharted. Evidence of general interest in this subject was appearing in periodical articles, particularly in appraisal of the socioreligious theories of certain European sociologists. The literature in the field was meager. Aside from materials on primitive religions and social interpretations of religion, there was nothing of an organized nature available as an outline for teaching the subject. It was in this connection that Case began his own study. He succeeded in developing a practical manual for teaching and in organizing an extensive bibliography of sources. Much writing had been done on social progress before Case produced *Social Process and Human Progress.*[2]

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[2] New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931.

The book climaxed the period of greatest general interest in this subject with an explanation of human progress in terms of its fundamental social processes. With the application of objective research to social phenomena, the need for sharper tools was more apparent. Many sociologists attempted to provide new concepts and refine those already in use. Case analyzed the concept of social values with the idea of making it more accurate for the purpose of research. In some instances Case received an impetus from the aggravating factors which he observed in everyday living. His concept of social age grew out of his observation of the behavior of people in an increasingly complex environment. His method of handling the data relative to this concept was in keeping with the trend of sociology toward objectivity.

IV

The limitations of Case's sociological thought lie chiefly in incomplete verification of his generalizations, insufficient testing of his hypotheses, and inadequate scientific experimentation. He tended to draw generalizations on the basis of insufficient evidence and then did not subject his generalizations to scientific validation. He proposed several unique and challenging hypotheses but, for the most part, left the proving of them undone. Time would doubtless have corrected this limitation because Professor Case was endeavoring to complete the validation of his social age chart and to prove that social age was a definite, measurable behavior trait. He did not utilize the experimental method in connection with his theories or hypotheses except with the concept of social age and this work was interrupted by ill-health. Case's sociology was not a complete system but rather a series of generalized concepts which did not extend over all phases of sociology and which he did not attempt to organize into a system of thought.

V

The noteworthy contributions of Case, as determined by a comparison of Case's ideas with the thought of other sociologists may now be summarized as follows: (1) It appears that he was one of the first to recognize the significance of culture for sociology. (2) His analysis of nonviolence and his expressed attitudes toward this method of settling conflict are only now becoming widespread. Motivated by an urge for peaceful social reform, he urged the churches to take the lead in the alleviation of social ills as early as 1898. (3) He favored societal planning and offered a specific proposal which is somewhat similar to that which has now materialized in the United Nations organization. (4) He suggested a new

hypothesis concerning leadership. (5) He discovered new and broader meaning in the concept of social values. (6) He was the first sociologist to attempt to objectify the process of socialization of personality. In these respects especially he became a leader among sociologists.

In a new science such as sociology the exploration and analysis of Professor Case's contributions may serve to arouse a redefinition of important sociological concepts. Some of his conclusions may be taken as hypotheses for interesting research projects. Some may lead to studies in which his conceptual contributions will be compared further with the related ideas of other sociologists. Finally, it may be said that his work is replete with new, original, and unique sociological observations and generalizations.

POLICEMEN AND CHILDREN*

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The child comes first. It takes children to make parents, professors, and policemen. The child is father—and mother—to the adult. As the child goes, so goes human destiny. He is our greatest challenge and our only hope. Perhaps the most powerful symbol in our culture is Jesus with a little child upon his knee. The child in its mother's arms, the child at school, at play—the *growing* child—is the living promise of man's future upon this dying planet.

Directly and indirectly, the child is at the heart of all social problems. Everybody knows, except some parents, that problem children are produced by problem parents and those who stand *in loco parentis*. One of these is the policeman—whose lot is not a happy one. His greatest failure has been, and still is, his relation to children and young people.

The trouble with most children is that they are influenced by their parents' antagonism toward policemen. They have been chased and "bawled out" by policemen, both as children and as adults. Children seldom hear a good word about policemen from their parents, and if they do, their own experience often leads them to think their parents are dumb or are indulging in that adult hypocrisy which to children is so characteristic of all grownups—the kind of people who tell you to "do what I say, not what I do." An irate parent, at the end of his patience and ingenuity, may threaten to give the child to the policeman or send him to the juvenile court or tell him he surely will go to prison when he grows up.

In movies and crime stories, the private detective often competes with the real police, who are presented as bunglers beyond belief. The police, who are saved from complete futility only by the clever amateur, harass and obstruct our hero. However, in spite of the police, the detective solves the case and generously gives the credit to the police, who then sink back into a quagmire of bureaucratic incompetence. If, by chance, the hero is an official detective, he almost always has several loutish, lunkhead cops as assistants who make it almost impossible for him to solve the crime. The theater and story "cop" is all too often merely a comic stooge—a tragic kind of comedy. The peerless FBI and Scotland Yard

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*Revision of paper read at annual meeting of Oregon Prison Association, April 21, 1948.

agents are the only symbols of law enforcement who get a break, and they are overglamorized as much as a flatfoot on the beat is held up to scorn and ridicule.

The policeman also contributes to the unsatisfactory state of police work in America. Many think of themselves as "The Law," that is, as members of "The Force." Like the great Grover Whalen, many of them believe there is a lot of law and order in the business end of a night stick. Many think you have "to treat 'em rough" and "throw the fear of the Lord," that is, of the police, into the public, whom they regard as potential lawbreakers. Many think people are restrained only by the burly presence and brusque behavior of a man in blue. This is a grave misconception of the policeman's function even when he is dealing with adults; it is a tragic error when he is dealing with children and young people.

In some cases the policeman is neither very bright nor very well educated; almost always, he is underpaid; his work is mostly laborious, repetitive routine; his social esteem is low. All in all, he is in a situation which invites various forms of personality distortion. He is in danger, not from desperate criminals, but from overcompensation and rationalization which sometimes lead him into actual alliance with the crooks he is sworn to combat. More often, he is led into resignation: he either resigns from the force or becomes resigned to it. In the latter case he becomes apathetic and incompetent; he performs his duties in a routine manner and along the lines of least effort. He becomes a passive policeman, whereas proper police work calls for high morale, initiative, independence, ingenuity, and constant professional alertness.

So we have an unhealthy stereotype of the policeman in our heads and project it into the minds of our children. That there is some factual basis for the existence and persistence of the stereotype cannot be denied. In general, the policeman's stereotype of the public as potential lawbreakers is untrue and, likewise, the public stereotype of the policeman as a big bully who delights in pushing people around is equally untrue. Yet we are faced with a vicious circle in which the policeman tends to be, or become, what he thinks the public thinks he is. The tougher he gets, the more resistance and contempt he arouses, which makes him still tougher. So the vicious circle becomes larger and more vicious. How can it be broken?

The police themselves can do much. Parents and teachers can do more. All adults can diminish the tensions between the old and the young by remembering how they felt when they were children, by learning to live

in the present and the future rather than in the "good old days"—which really were not so good. Parents can help their children to grow up instead of lamenting that the "cute little things are getting so big." When the need of children for a scapegoat is reduced, the policeman is less likely to be identified with the devil. Children never should hear their parents "cuss out the cops," nor should they ever hear the policeman "bawl out" either them or their parents.

Police leaders are beginning to realize that good manners is one of the prime requisites for a good policeman. Cornelius Cahalane, Inspector of Police in New York for many years, writes in his chapter on "Handling Children":

You should first endeavor to remove from the children's minds the bugaboo of fear of police officers which has been instilled into many of them by thoughtless parents and other foolish grown-ups. You should try to make them feel you are interested in their welfare, that you enjoy seeing them play and amuse themselves, and that when you stop them from doing things they like to do, it is only because you know and fear harm will result to themselves or to others whose rights they are bound to respect. . . . When you speak, do it in a friendly rather than an officious tone—"Boys, it is dangerous for you to play there!" not "Stop that! Beat it!"[1]

Policemen should also be kind, especially to children. I knew a policeman in Winchester, Massachusetts, who was on duty whenever the children were coming or going to the public school. They swarmed around him and called him "Mike"; he knew many of them by their first names and nicknames. He led them by the hand and carried the small ones across the street when the weather was bad. He knew their fathers and mothers. For most of these children the symbol of the law always will be a friend.[2]

A recent publication of the Children's Bureau says:

As part of their training, all police officers should be given some knowledge of the problems of children and how to cope with them. Since they dispose of thousands of cases of juveniles without bringing them into court, they should also be acquainted with all the community resources to which they might refer children.[3]

This is equivalent to saying that all policemen should know something about social work. They should be college graduates and have at least two

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[1] *The Policeman* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1929), p. 244.

[2] Similar cases occur elsewhere, of course. Officer Bert G. Smith, of Portland, Oregon, was stationed at a crossing near the Rose City Park School for four years. Since his illness, he has received flowers and letters from many children in the neighborhood. The general tenor of the messages is, "You are a nice policeman. I hope you get well soon." Portland *Oregonian,* March 24, 1949, p. 18.

[3] Edith K. Lesser, *Understanding Juvenile Delinquency,* U.S. Children's Bureau, Publ. 300, 1943, p. 42.

or three years' postgraduate training which should include more social science than most policemen ever know. Portland does not have a very good police department, but it is not because the men are stupid. They are probably the most intelligent police force in the United States. Over 78 per cent of them rate A and B on the Army Alpha Test. Their nearest competitor is Dallas, Texas, with slightly over 48 per cent. Los Angeles has a good police force, but only 27 per cent have A and B intelligence.[4] Portland's police force is very intelligent, but high intelligence is no substitute for proper education, organization, and training. Policemen should all have at least a year of on-the-job internship under proper supervision. They need the maturity most men do not attain before the age of 25. By 55 they should be retired on a decent pension unless they have qualified for some administrative or executive work. Such officers should retire at 65. There were twenty-two men above this age on the Portland force in August 1947.

Even if policemen are properly selected and properly trained, they still cannot do effective police work without many changes in current administrative procedures. The best possible equipment, complete removal from politics, security of tenure, and adequate pay are prime necessities. Many functions now performed by policemen should be turned over to civilian employees. Attempts to gain public support by such sentimental appeals as the Police Athletic League and the Sunshine Division in Portland must be supplanted by giving the best possible police service for the least possible cost. Good police work is primarily a combination of education and social work. Policemen who are capable of presenting a socially intelligent view of police work should speak frequently to all kinds of civic organizations and especially to the schools at all levels. Children should be taken through the police department. Driving and traffic regulations should be compulsory subjects for all high school students.

Most police work is not catching criminals or deterring people from crime. It is regulation, direction, information, interpretation, advice, and nontechnical social work. The policeman on the beat is a lawmaker, judge, and jury as well as an executive and administrative official. Therefore, a patrolman should work in the same area for long periods of time. Except where foot patrol is indicated he should travel by car. One-man cars are more effective and cost less. It is highly important for the policeman in an area where there are children to know every person on his beat. He should call on every family often enough that

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[4] Addison H. Fording (August Vollmer, Consultant), *Police Bureau Survey, City of Portland, Oregon* (Portland: University of Oregon, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, mimeographed, 1947), p. 194.

the children will not associate the policeman with trouble only. He should let them ride in his car, enter into their games and projects, know them by name, watch them grow up, be a friend to whom they can come when they need advice and help. He should be able to speak to them without arousing the response, "Nyah! the dumb cop!"

One of the most important functions of the policeman is to protect children from those adults who think children are wicked when they are merely having fun. Such adults magnify innocent offenses, vent their dislike of the child's parents on the child, and try to get the policeman to do their dirty work. Often the child's own parents and other adults are more in need of police work, or social work, than the accused child. The policeman must keep all children from feeling that they have been used unjustly. Of course, this does not mean winking at depredations of young toughs whose parents may be prominent people or making friends with children by condoning misbehavior. However, in dealing with incipient or actual delinquency, the policeman's most valuable work will usually be with parents and other adults.

Such a relationship cannot be established if the policeman is changed every few months. Neither should the policeman follow a regular beat. When he does, anyone bent on mischief can calculate just where he will be at a given time. The regular beat and the frequent change of beats developed, and still exist in most departments, to equalize dangers and difficulties, to prevent graft, and to keep the police from loafing on the job. All such reasons are an insult to a competent professional policeman. Any apparent inequalities could be adjusted by competent administrative practices.[5]

Continuity of police personnel is highly important in all areas where young people foregather. This is the second line of defense in the prevention of crime. The first line is the normal socialization of the growing child. The part the police should play in this, along with the home, the school, and the church, has been indicated. It is an important role, almost wholly ignored or bungled by the police. The second line of defense would not be a serious problem if the first line were strong and effective. The same general principles apply to police work in the second line of defense, which includes such places as parks, playgrounds, pools, poolrooms, dance halls, taverns, movies, rinks, auto courts, and the like. The policeman must know all the proprietors well and also the youngsters

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[5] Read Bain, "The Policeman on the Beat," *Scientific Monthly,* May 1939, pp. 450-58.

who frequent such places. He has the delicate diplomatic job of being the
trusted friend and adviser of both. He must have the seeing eye, the
understanding mind, and the flexible skill which will enable him to stop
practices and associations which, if continued, will lead to delinquency.
It takes time, years of time, and more than a high I.Q., or a heavy hand,
to establish the relationships and know the social and personal facts which
make such preventive and constructive police work possible.[6]

A recent study under the direction of Allan East makes this point
very clear. He says,

Is there a dance hall proprietor who likes to permit drinking and extreme love-
making in order to get the juvenile crowd and therefore the extra profit? . . . Are
gangs arising because constructive child development programs are lacking . . . ? Are
employers sneaking child labor? Is a certain "fence" persuading children to steal
for him? Is there a white slave ring in action? . . . Does the public prosecutor
need good evidence against a suspected demoralized adult? Nothing can be more
devastating . . . than the appearance on the witness stand of the policeman, known
in his community to be a friend of children, who has clear-cut evidence against
the erring adult.[7]

Such police work is impossible if the policeman has not been on the same
tour of duty for several years.

Finally, it cannot be stressed too often or too much that police work
is not a very hazardous occupation. Most police work does not involve
handling desperate criminals or criminals of any kind. Therefore, one of
the best ways to improve police work would be to disarm the police. This
applies to most traffic work and to all police work that is mainly directive,
advisory, and inspectional. It is imperative for all policemen who deal
directly with children and their parents. The same is true of most detective
work. In Portland 17 per cent of the police are in the detective division.
They spend a great deal of their time on minor infractions and routine
investigations, most of which could be done better by the regular patrol-
men. Often, the detectives work in pairs, thus further wasting manpower
sorely needed in other areas.[8]

Of course, some armed policemen and some real detectives are needed,
but they should constitute a small percentage of the total force, perhaps

[6] Eliot Ness, "New Role of the Police," *Survey Midmonthly*, March 1944, pp.
77-78; James B. Nolan, "Crime Prevention Work of New York City's Police,"
Federal Probation, April-June 1947; "Controlling Juvenile Delinquency," *Chil-
dren's Bureau Publication* 301, 1943, especially pp. 22-23.

[7] Allan East, *Survey of Juvenile Delinquency Control in Counties Outside
of Multnomah County*, Oregon Governor's Juvenile Deliquency Committee, Publ.
1, July 1946, p. 20.

[8] Fording, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

less than one quarter. They should be a highly mobile, roving organization, capable of responding quickly to calls in any part of the city. All policemen should be trained in the use of firearms and in means of physical offense and defense, but their guns, clubs, and handcuffs should be left at the station or in their cars and should be used only in emergencies. The average policeman on the average beat needs a gun or a club far less than he needs social intelligence, good manners, and familiarity with the principles of social work and education.

Practical policemen, like August Vollmer, O. H. Wilson, and many others, who recognize that police work is a highly technical profession, are emphasizing more and more the points of view expressed by criminologists like Thorsten Sellin and E. H. Sutherland. It is beginning to be recognized that good police work is good social work, broadly conceived. Good police work depends more upon the application of social science knowledge than upon biological and physical science. Truth serum and genetics may have a place in police work, good physical equipment obviously does; but all applications of physical and biological science are but means to the end of applying social science knowledge to prevent crime and to rehabilitate the offender.

Many policemen now accept the idea that a child is never a criminal, no matter how serious the offense. We are gradually extending juvenile court theory and procedure to cover the adult offender. Eventually, what is now called crime will be diagnosed as sociopathic behavior and treated as such. We are beginning to realize that most illness exhibits biopathic, psychopathic, and sociopathic symptoms and hence may require therapy at all three levels. When this view is as widely accepted by the various professions and the public as the idea that biological illness is not due to the wrath of God or the sin of the patient, the age-old war between the child and the policeman will disappear. This conflict is really one aspect of the struggle between the adult and the child.

The policeman who handles adult offenders is really dealing with a person whose social age is much less than his chronological and biological age,[9] whose socialization has been retarded or distorted by biopathic, psychopathic, or sociopathic factors. He needs therapy, not punishment; care, not clubbing. Therefore, all police work, when properly done, will follow the same general principles that should govern the relations between the child and the policeman.

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[9] Read Bain, "The Ages of Man," *American Sociological Review*, June 1945, pp. 337-43.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF AGED PEOPLE*

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The purpose of this study is to indicate some effects of institutionalization on adjustment in later life. The Social Science Research Council recently sponsored an investigation of the attitudes, values, and self-conceptions of 2,988 noninstitutionalized old people and the social conditions in which they find themselves.[1] The present study applies the same schedules and techniques of analysis to persons living in homes for the aged and attempts to indicate the differences in adjustment between the two groups. Criteria of adjustment employed in the studies are the following: (1) success in maintaining social status and a constant social setting, (2) absence of personal difficulties, (3) possession of a vital interest, (4) companionship, (5) good health, (6) good adjustment and flexibility in the past, (7) feeling of economic security, (8) religious faith and philosophy of life, and (9) feeling of indispensability and usefulness.

The subjects of the present study were 116 women over sixty years of age living in twelve institutions for the aged in the Chicago metropolitan area. They are of various educational levels and adhere to the Christian and Jewish faiths, except for a few who have no religious affiliation. They differ from the subjects in the Social Science Research Council study in the following ways: they are older,[2] are of lower socioeconomic status, have less average education,[3] and come entirely from a large metropolitan area rather than from cities of various sizes and rural areas. These factors rather than institutionalization may account for some of the differences between the two groups.

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*This paper summarizes the findings of a master's thesis entitled, "A Study of the Personal and Social Adjustment of the Old People in the Homes for Aged" (University of Chicago, 1947), written under the direction of E. W. Burgess, Herbert Goldhamer, and Ruth Shonle Cavan.

[1] Ruth Shonle Cavan *et al.*, "Measuring Personal Adjustment in Old Age" (mimeographed), 1948.

[2] Comparison of age:

	Present Study	SSRC	C.R.
	76.7	71.4	8.4

[3] School-level completions of the two groups are as follows:

School Level Completed	Present Study Per cent	SSRC Per cent	C.R.
Grade school	42.0	18.9	4.4
High school	31.6	22.9	1.6
College	16.3	39.2	3.3
Postgraduate and professional	9.1	18.3	3.1

The data were secured by personal interview, employing two schedules. The first called for a variety of social data, as follows:

1. Age, race, nativity, place of residence, education, marital status, and occupation
2. Statements of present activity and social experience under the headings of health, family and home, friends, leisure and recreation, clubs and organizations, gainful employment, security, and religion
3. Statements of past social experience, to reveal trends over the past ten years of the person's life
4. Statements concerning certain childhood, adolescent, and adult situations fraught with emotion which may disturb the serenity of old age

The second schedule called for attitudes toward the eight categories of experience listed under item 2 above and evaluations of feeling of usefulness and happiness. To aid in analysis of findings, related questions from the two schedules were combined into scores for physical mobility, social mobility, interest, evaluation of past life, companionship, participation, personal difficulties in adolescence, in middle age, and in old age.

The more important findings of this study will be presented under the nine criteria of adjustment already listed. Wherever possible, comparison with the 1,804 women in the SSRC study will be made, to indicate possible differences due to institutionalization.

1. *Success in maintaining social status and a constant social setting.*
Important changes are summarized as follows:

Class of neighborhood lived in:

Same as fifteen years ago	63.8%
Lower than fifteen years ago	24.8
Higher than fifteen years ago	11.4

Economic status:

Same as at ages 40-60	73.2
Worse than at ages 40-60	23.3

Things given up because of economic condition:

Nothing	43.9
1 or 2	32.0
3 or 4	20.0
5 or 6	5.5

Things most frequently given up included home, church, clubs, automobile, vacations, or purchase of less expensive home or car and failure to keep home furnishings in repair. Fifty per cent of the SSRC subjects

reported giving up nothing (C.R.=2.9). Church or clubs were given up for economic reasons by 14.1 per cent of the subjects in the present study and only 5.8 per cent in the SSRC study (C.R.=3.3). Most frequent downward changes of neighborhood were from upper middle to middle class and from upper class to upper middle.

2. *Absence of personal difficulties.* The two studies reveal no significant difference in adolescent difficulties, but 11.4 per cent of the SSRC subjects reported a high number of adult difficulties (3-6 difficulties) as compared with 6.9 per cent of the institutionalized subjects (C.R.=2.2). Significant differences in present difficulties include: living arrangements made from necessity, 15.4 per cent of the institutionalized group and 5.0 per cent of the SSRC subjects (C.R.=2.7); nothing to do, 9.0 per cent of institutionalized subjects and 0.1 per cent of SSRC subjects (C.R.= 8.9).

3. *Possession of a vital interest.* Differences in vital interest are indicated in the following items:

Item	Present Study %	SSRC %	C.R.
Absence of nervous breakdown	65.9	79.4	3.1
Evaluation of past life:			
Low score (0-4)	24.2	9.0	3.0
High score (7-8)	31.6	49.0	3.5
Interest in life:			
Low score (0)	25.5	44.3	4.0
Middle score (1-2)	57.1	45.9	2.1

None of the subjects in the present study were employed, although a smaller percentage (2.6) reported stopping work because of loss of interest than in the SSRC study (24.9%; C.R.=2.5).

4. *Companionship.* Scores for companionship and participation in activities were computed by combining relevant answers to a number of questions, with the following distributions:

Companionship:

Item	Present Study %	SSRC %	C.R.
Low score (0-1)	68.0	23.2	9.5
Middle score (2-3)	26.2	54.0	6.0
High score (4-5)	5.8	22.8	6.8
Participation:			
Low score (0-3)	41.0	11.8	5.8
High score	16.0	53.2	9.0

There is little social interaction among residents of the institutions. This, combined with infrequency of outside contacts, makes the resident's life a rather lonely one.

5. *Good health.* The effect of age on health was evident in both studies by the increase of blindness and deafness. The present study shows a higher percentage of crippled persons than the SSRC study because the present study includes some cases from the Home for Incurables in Chicago. "Nervousness" and "bad dreams" as kinds of neurotic symptoms[4] appeared more frequently in the sample for the present study, while the item "tire easily" appeared more frequently in the SSRC sample. For the two groups the correlation coefficient of total attitude score[5] and health rating for the SSRC group (r=.45) is higher; that is, there is a clearer relation between actual health and adjustment for the SSRC group than for the institutionalized group (r=.31). The correlation coefficient of the total attitudes scores and the number of neurotic symptoms in both studies among women are highly negative (present study—.58, SSRC study—.43).

6. *Good adjustment and flexibility in the past.* This category, investigated in terms of attitudes toward family and friends, shows the following selected scores:

Item	Present Study %	SSRC %	C.R.
Attitude toward family:			
Low score (unfavorable)	5.8	0.9	2.1
Middle score	68.1	58.1	2.0
High score (favorable)	26.1	41.0	4.4
Possession of children and relatives:			
Both children and relatives	21.2	40.2	4.5
Neither children nor relatives	32.8	12.4	4.5
Closeness to children:			
Low score	31.1	6.3	4.5
Middle score	47.8	33.4	2.7
High score	21.1	60.3	8.6
Frequency of contact with friends:			
A few times a year	52.0	23.1	4.2
Once a week to twice a month	34.0	50.0	3.8
Every day	14.0	26.9	3.7

[4] Neurotic symptoms include: can't sleep at night, bad dreams, get tired easily, food doesn't taste good, crying spells, feel "blue," nervousness, forgetfulness, dislike noise, worry about health, etc.

[5] The attitude score is an estimate of general adjustment, including responses to all attitude questions.

Frequency of contact with friends
   relative to ten years ago:

Less often	37.8	28.3	2.0
About the same	24.4	11.3	3.0
More often	37.8	60.4	4.0

Number of friends among young people:

Few	43.8	31.5	2.7
Many	51.4	65.6	2.8

The noninstitutionalized group shows higher scores in respect to good adjustment toward family and friends.

7. *Feeling of economic security.* Attitude toward employment was rated by a series of statements ranging from "I can no longer do any kind of useful work" to "I do better work now than ever before" (high score). Distribution of scores is as follows:

Score	Present Study %	SSRC %	C.R.
Low	22.5	10.5	2.5
Middle	29.5	51.2	4.5
High	48.0	38.3	2.2

The present data yield low and middle attitude scores toward employment. The SSRC data show a significantly higher proportion of persons having a college education (16.3 per cent in present female cases and 39.2 per cent in the SSRC cases) (C.R.=3.3), and significantly more with the profession of college teacher or administrator and minister, as well as significantly more retired persons. The present data, on the other hand, indicate a higher proportion of persons with clerical, semiskilled, and unskilled occupations, and of persons who cannot work because of age and health (45.5 per cent in the present female cases and 20.5 per cent in the SSRC female cases) (C.R.=4.5). The cases of the former study, then, have better jobs and enjoy better economic conditions than the cases of the latter.

The SSRC data show higher proportions of persons who belong to the "well-to-do" class, possess insurance, savings, pensions, and own their own homes, in addition to the differences already indicated under social status.

8. *Religious faith and philosophy of life.* The present data show a higher proportion of Jewish affiliation (12.9 per cent of present cases vs. 1.9 per cent in SSRC cases), while the SSRC data show a higher proportion of the Roman Catholic faith (5.5 per cent). The present data

show a high proportion of persons who "listen to church sermon on the radio" (C.R.=3.6) or read the Bible every day (C.R.=5.0), both of which facts imply that the present cases show more religious devotion than the SSRC cases. The philosophy of life revealed most frequently by cases in the present study is that of resignation.

9. *Feeling of indispensability and usefulness.* The score on attitude toward membership in organizations and the amount of free time are partial indices of feeling of usefulness. Significant data in point follow:

Item	Present Study %	SSRC %	C.R.
Attitude toward social organizations:			
Middle score	55.6	35.5	2.2
High score	19.4	47.5	4.7
Amount of time free:			
All day	81.6	59.0	5.5
Half day	3.7	14.0	4.7
Few hours	11.0	21.0	3.0

The SSRC study also shows a higher proportion of persons who are active in a number of organizations and who hold a number of offices, both of which indicate that the SSRC cases have more participation in organizations than the present cases. Also, the SSRC data show a higher proportion of outside home activities (C.R.=2.3), while the present data show a higher proportion of inside home activities (C.R.=4.0), probably because the former group is much younger and of higher economic status. The SSRC group also indulge in more plans and hobbies (C.R.= 5.0), while the latter group, because of older age and lower economic status, have little to do other than to spend the entire day listening to the radio.

Attitude scores on "feeling of usefulness" and "feeling of happiness" bear out the superior adjustment of the noninstitutionalized group.

Item	Present Study %	SSRC %	C.R.
Attitude toward usefulness:			
Middle score	34.9	19.9	3.0
High score	61.2	76.7	3.5
Attitude toward happiness:			
High score	18.4	29.1	2.8

In summary, the adjustment of old people in institutions is not so good as that of old people outside the institutions with regard to the following factors: mobility; adolescent, adult, and present difficulties; dis-

satisfaction in life; lack of interest in life; negative attitude toward past life; lack of companionship; lack of participation in activities; and attitude toward health, family, friends, employment, organizations, security, leisure and recreation, happiness, and usefulness.

On the other hand, the adjustment of old people in an institution has been found to be better with regard to the following factors: religious affiliation, resignation to life philosophy, participation in inside home activities, reading the Bible every day, and spending the entire day listening to the radio, either music or church sermons.

There is no group of persons whose welfare is more neglected than that of old people. The neglect is world wide. Even those countries which are reputedly the most advanced with respect to social service generally think that old age pensions are a sufficient solution of the problem. Recent studies indicate that other than economic factors are also important. It may very well be that the United States will be the leader in the new science of geriatrics or gerontology.

Finally, though no unqualified conclusion can be reached because such factors as age, education, socioeconomic status, and home community have not been held constant, the adjustment of old people in institutions in the present sample has been found inferior to that of old persons not in institutions in the SSRC sample.

SOCIAL LEADERSHIP*

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Research in the last two decades has provided new insights into the meaning of leadership and leadership training, leadership techniques, ways of identifying leaders, "characteristics" of leaders, and the extent of persistence in leadership. Briefly, leadership is no longer to be understood merely in terms of personality "traits" but, rather, by knowledge of the leader's active place in group life.

According to recent findings, a leader is a member of a group whom the others follow because he has demonstrated mastery of the social relationships in the group and, as a consequence, has become its "center of living." Murphy considered leadership "that element in a group situation, which, when made conscious and controlling, brings about a new situation," presumably "more satisfying to the group as a whole,"[1] and Lewin recognized this view when he said, "If the leader himself is viewed as one part of a social unit, the width of his influence loses its magic and becomes a specific case of the interdependence of the various subparts and aspects of a dynamic whole."[2] Thus, social leadership can be studied only as an integral part of a dynamic group process. Obviously, research in leadership must include more than the mere study of physical characteristics, age, intelligence, and personality traits, which have heretofore been considered by many as causal factors to "action research" under real or simulated group situations.

The leader in a free society elicits positive reactions toward him from the followers, and the nature of the behavior that obtains these responses has been a subject of recent research. Thus, servicemen, given an opportunity to indicate the kind of behavior they liked in an officer, reported that he must have ability in the area of leadership, show an interest in soldier welfare, make prompt decisions, teach well, show good judgment, avoid "bossing" men around when there was no good reason for it, be appreciative of good work done, and give orders clearly.[3] Again, Jennings, in an analysis of the behavior of democratically chosen leaders at the New

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[1] J. Murphy, "A Study of the Leadership Process," *American Sociological Review,* 6:674-87, 1941.

[2] Kurt Lewin, "A Research Approach to Leadership Problems," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 17:392-98, 1944.

[3] "How Soldiers Rate Officers," *Science Digest,* 13:23-24, 1943.

York State Training School for Girls, found that leaders attained their favorable choice-position because they were "protagonists of the needs and desires of large numbers of the population—sufficient effective protagonists to draw choice on a sociometric criterion."[4]

These studies showed that a leader is one who "fits into" a particular dynamic group situation in such a way as to contribute better than the other members to the more complete satisfaction of the needs of the group.

Thus, the main key to leadership techniques is behavior related to the more complete satisfaction of the needs of the group, and, since every type of group demands a different leadership behavior, there is a great need for research in leadership behavior in many specific kinds of groups.

Studies of the characteristics of leaders, when interpreted within the limits of the current framework of research, do give some insights into ways of behaving in specific situations; but the emphasis, unfortunately, has been on generalized traits rather than specific behavior patterns. It must be remembered that characteristics of leaders are not necessarily causes of leadership. Only when the superior characteristics are used to guide superior performance in a group are they meaningful.

Keeping the foregoing limitations in mind, studies of leadership traits made during the last two decades have agreed that active leaders have had superior socioeconomic advantages in their youth and that they are, in general, superior to nonleaders in intelligence, scholarship or knowledge, vitality, self-confidence, and social adaptability. Other traits commonly found among leaders are athletic ability, good appearance, speed of decision, finality of judgment, dependability, initiative, persistence, adventurousness, self-control, wide interests, good humor, and absence of physical defects.

Again, it must be emphasized that *mere possession* of the traits of leadership does not assure leadership; leadership, rather, is a phase of a social process, in which the most adaptable and useful emerge as representing the values most desired by the group at the time. A leader is the center of the social potential of the group. To achieve this position he must share the values held by the group, and then, being ambitious and persistent, use his knowledge, intelligence, vitality, self-confidence, and social adaptability to become the most active and acceptable member; in other words, the leaders' talents must be used in vital participation in group activity and in redirecting group activity to satisfy human needs.

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4 H. H. Jennings, "Leadership—A Dynamic Interpretation," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 17:431-33, 1944.

Consistent with the concept that a leader can be studied only in relation to a total group situation, research points to the conclusion that a true group leader can be identified only by some kind of observation of the effectiveness of his performance in the type of group to which the leadership is related, either by outside "experts" qualified to judge or by rating of "choices" made by associates—the sociometric approach of Moreno.[5] These two methods have been proved valid by research and by carefully controlled practical experience. Parten observed children for: "following, independent pursuing of own ends, both directing and following, reciprocally directing and directing" and found correlations of .81 with teacher ratings of pupils.[6] Also, the observation of performance was used successfully during the war. For example, German officer candidates were given tests in which the candidate was required to instruct a group of soldiers or to carry out difficult commands under strain while their performance was judged by experts.[7] British officer candidates were given common tasks in groups, like bridge building or some tactical test, or a "blind war" test in which two leader candidates directed opposing squads of blindfolded men on an open field.[8] The U.S. Office of Strategic Services placed candidates on a large estate where they were forced to play the role of someone else. Evaluations of their performance were made by their superiors on a five-point scale.

Numerous experimentally valid studies have been made in identifying leaders by means of ratings by associates. Some years ago Soderquist[9] and Swab and Peters[10] pointed out experimentally that ratings by associates *are* valid methods of selecting leaders. Soderquist concluded that personality is an organic whole which "can be defined only in terms of variable total response to varied specific situations, and the best judges of the responses are the members of the group who are the objects of the responses rather than 'outsiders.'" One of the most striking evidences of this viewpoint is the report on the combat success of 185 second lieutenants in the Marine Corps. No significant relationship was found between

5 J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations. Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 58, 1934. Pp. 440.

6 Mildred B. Parten, "Leadership among Preschool Children," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 27:430-40, 1933.

7 Joseph W. Eaton, "Experiments in Testing for Leadership," *American Journal of Sociology,* 52:523-35, 1947.

8 *Ibid.*

9 H. O. Soderquist, "Validity of the Measurement of Social Traits of High School Pupils by the Method of Rating by Associates," *Journal of Educational Research,* 31:29-44, 1937.

10 J. C. Swab and C. C. Peters, "The Reliability and Validity of Estimates (Ratings) as Measuring Tools," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 7:224-32, 1933.

composite numerical grades obtained at OCS (officers' candidate school) and combat success. Buddy-rating scores (ratings by associates), however, were found to have "a higher relationship with the opinion held by senior combat officers" than any other measure (tetrachoric correlation .42).[11] The Marine Corps report concluded that, "The evidence thus far presented points strongly to the conclusion that the men themselves are more capable of picking their own leaders than are instructors and training officers."[12] This finding, which coincides with current concepts of leadership, implies that serious thought must be given to the possibility of using more democratic methods of selecting leaders.

Consistent with the democratic approach to leadership identification is the spontaneous choice of leaders provided by the sociometric technique. To provide for free and meaningful circumstances, Jennings arranged for group discussions before choices were made to "encourage the subjects to collaborate in the plan of research and to volunteer to give the information." Her instructions were simple and direct: "You will notice that your paper is divided into 8 squares or boxes. In the first 'Yes' box, marked 'live with,' write in the names of whatever girls there are anywhere on the campus or in your own house whom you would prefer to live with. In the 'No' box of 'live with' write the names of whatever girls there are anywhere on the campus or in your own house whom you would prefer not to live with. . . ."[13] Thus, Jennings recorded the direction of interpersonal responses. Then these responses could be charted and diagrammed. Those who attracted the most positive choices were considered those whom others naturally followed in the defined situation. Zeleny asked cadet pilot-observers in training to "indicate how you feel about flying with each of the cadets in your flight."[14] Statistical tabulations showed those who were selected and rejected.

Since leadership is a product of a group process in a particular situation, the matter of the persistence of individual leaders may well be the subject of considerable interest. To what extent do individuals who attain leadership persist in that leadership? Research points to the conclusion that the persistence of group leadership is dependent upon the stability of group structure and the adaptability of the leadership. In a relatively stable group structure a leader who works his way meritoriously to the center of the "social field" may be expected to maintain his status of leader for

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11 Eaton, *op. cit.*
12 *Ibid.*
13 H. H. Jennings, "Leadership Training through the Sociodrama," *National Association of Deans of Women Journal,* 10:112-19, 1947.
14 L. D. Zeleny, "Selection of Compatible Flying Partners," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 52, No. 6, 1947.

some time. For example, Page found a correlation of .667 between first- and fourth-year leadership rankings of West Point cadets.[15] Jennings identified 9 generally recognized leaders among 447 girls in the New York State Training School for Girls.[16] Thus, in a stable society or group, leadership once attained tends to persist.

When group structures change (or leaders change groups), leaders who are not adaptable tend to be displaced by those making a better adjustment to the "social field." Chapin points out that in politico-economic affairs agents of the *status quo* tend to preserve social patterns, reformers and experimenters become leaders in periods of rapid change, and organizing and coordinating leaders are produced by a period devoted to the consolidation of gains.[17] Thus cycles of change and of leadership are related.

Page found that, as students, distinguished West Point Academy graduates had been in all ranks from low to high.[18] Courtensy compared the post-high-school activities of 100 paired leaders and nonleaders and discovered a considerable loss in leadership status of leaders and an increase in status for high school nonleaders.[19] Thus, different group structures tended to bring forth new leadership.

A leader today is not a leader tomorrow unless he is flexible enough to adjust to groups with many different structures. Research has shown that outstanding leaders have demonstrated considerable ability to make adjustments. Chapin reported that leaders among college students surpassed the mass in their ability to participate in many different kinds of groups;[20] he indicated further that leadership in the college community of groups rested in the hands of an active few who belong to many different groups.[21] The well-known fact of interlocking directorates, he says, is another illustration of widespread leadership by an "inner circle." Again, Smith showed that in an American city of about 100,000 population 119 persons composed "an inner circle of personnel" of leadership in the community.[22] Smith and Nystrom showed leaders in the Kansas schools to

[15] D. P. Page, "Measurement and Prediction of Leadership," *American Journal of Sociology*, 41:31-43, 1935.

[16] Helen Jennings, "Structure of Leadership—Development and Sphere of Influence," *Sociometry*, 1:99-143, 1937.

[17] F. S. Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935), pp. 165-68.

[18] Page, *op. cit.*

[19] Mary E. Courtensy, "Persistence of Leadership," *School Review*, 46:97-107, 1938.

[20] Chapin, *op. cit.*

[21] "Leadership and Group Activity," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 8:141-45, 1924.

[22] Christopher Smith, "Social Selection in Community Leadership," *Social Forces*, 15:530-35, 1937.

participate in 6.8 activities, while nonleaders took part in only 1.75 groups.[23] Remmlein pointed out that all but 14 per cent of school leaders held office in more than one group.[24] Thus outstanding leaders dominate many different groups in the same community of groups.

We may conclude that leadership status, once attained, tends to remain relatively constant in an unchanging group structure; but, as the social pattern of the group changes, the leadership tends to change. Nevertheless, outstanding leaders are adaptable enough to adjust themselves to the structure of many different groups.

With respect to leadership training, the logical conclusion of the situational approach to leadership is that the development of leadership ability can take place only in actual or simulated social interaction in dynamic groups, especially in groups where group decisions are made and where consequent goal-directed activity is the result.[25]

Needed research. The most needed research is the careful analysis of the leadership process in many typical kinds of groups: athletic groups, school groups, industrial and business groups, social groups, autocratic and democratic groups, and the like. The general traits of leaders have been adequately identified; it is the particular patterns of leadership behavior demanded by many particular kinds of groups that must be studied.

Further investigations are neeeded on the relationship between leadership and morale in the group and on the relation of group atmospheres to the development of personality. It is possible that primary groups in the school may be so constructed that they may be used as an aid in the correction of many personality difficulties. Further research is needed on the identification of group leaders, especially by controlled observation methods. In the area of experimental research with controlled and experimental groups the opportunities are unlimited, especially if experimental factors are specific techniques of leadership.

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[23] Mapheus Smith and W. C. Nystrom, "A Study of Social Participation and of Leisure Time of Leaders and Nonleaders," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 21:251-59, 1937.

[24] Madaline K. Remmlein, "Analysis of Leaders among High School Seniors," *Journal of Experimental Education,* 6:413-22, 1938.

[25] Kurt Lewin, "Dynamics of Group Action," *Educational Leadership,* 1:195-200, 1944.

A DIVERSITY OF CULTURAL PATTERNS*

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The quality of "manyness" of America's culture is a significant aspect of our way of life. We are familiar with the regional differences in languages, dialects, and communal customs that characterize various sections of the United States. A multiplicity of ethnic peoples and folkways is identifiable in any cosmopolitan area. Sometimes we find different peoples living in segregated "islands," thus maintaining a striking degree of group chauvinism in their own neighborhoods. Sometimes such groups maintain a social and psychological identity, rather than a geographical one. Their cultural traditions are perpetuated by means of "foreign" languages in the family, in the primary-group associations of relatives and friends, and in certain newspapers. They support their own fraternity and club programs. Frequently they associate in the traditional church activities of their particular group. Thus Americans perpetuate multiple social patterns in which particular peoples conserve certain aspects of their folk culture.

Practices of these kinds serve several purposes for the culture group. They afford the individual member an opportunity to play his social role in a medium that is not only familiar to him but also genuinely meaningful. His sense of belonging, a fundamental drive in every person, is satisfied in the company of those whose social practices have been defined for generations as "his own." His participation in the folkways of the group gives the individual a sense of recognition; it builds up his status. The worth of his ego in his own sight and in that of his fellows is heightened. His feeling of security is strengthened. Out-groups are strange and their ways of living unfamiliar and untried. To be able to carry on the personal habits and social interactions that were cherished in childhood and have become "second nature" is reinforcing to any person, and may be nurtured in his children to the third and fourth generation. People choose to perpetuate the folkways that give individuality to their culture group because they are symbols or vehicles of the group's particular social values.

Conditions of acute social change often reinforce in-group loyalties. The history of the United States has been one long sequence of turbulent periods of national growth. Recently, world wars, depressions, accelerated

growth of urban centers, revolutionary ideas abroad, and scientific discoveries have shocked individuals, groups, and communities and have compelled them to make hasty and basic readjustments to new situations. Members of minority groups are particularly sensitive to such forces and usually seek to strengthen their in-group relations, either to resist social change or to minimize its hazardous influence upon them.

Four types of cultural patterns are clearly distinguishable in this country: race, nationality, religion, and socioeconomic status. An understanding of the characteristic elements of these patterns is essential for clear thinking about the American scene.

1. *Race* has become a convenient word to designate certain physical traits that distinguish large groups of human beings from other large groups. They include skin color, distribution of body hair, hair structure, head and nasal forms, and various other physical characteristics. Such traits are due to a common ancestry and mark off a group from all other groupings of mankind. Racial traits are carried by the germ plasm from one generation to another. In this country all three types of race groups—Negroid, Caucasoid, and Mongoloid—are represented. There are, of course, many subclasses and intermixtures of these three types in our midst.

Certain popular beliefs about race are socially mischievous. For instance, many Americans believe that the Caucasian race has a "superior" blood stream. Therefore, they infer, its members reflect a higher quality of mental ability than do individuals of other races. Consequently, they possess innate skills which afford their group advantage over those of supposedly lesser-endowed peoples. These beliefs grow out of obvious differences between groups, particularly between white and colored groups and between new- and old-stock Americans. Scientific studies have proved that these differences between members of culture groups, if and when they do exist, are due to socially, rather than biologically, transmitted forces. In every racial group individual personality variation ranges from the highest to the lowest types with reference to every social characteristic. A culture group that excels in human achievements does so because it has had superior opportunities, A group that suffers political and socioeconomic handicap, frequently including discrimination and segregation, fails to develop its potentialities and, therefore, occupies an undesirable status in the social scale. Given similar opportunities over a sufficient period of time for their enlistment, every racial group can develop highly qualified individuals in every field of human endeavor in proportionately large numbers. We need to be on guard in our thinking about reasons for superiority or inferiority among individuals of different races.

We sometimes speak of the German "race," the Irish "race," or the Russian "race," as though all the people belonging to Germany, Ireland, or Russia were members of three physical divisions of mankind. As a matter of fact, the peoples of every country in Europe are racially mixed. Migrations, conquests, and intermarriage have been going on for centuries, contributing to the racial hybridization of all Europeans.

2. Nationality patterns in this country have been brought here by peoples of every nation. European patterns predominate. Among them are German, Irish, Czech, Spanish, and so on. Peoples having lived within a particular state, region, or nation for an extended period of history have acquired certain cultural likenesses. Their language or dialect, family pattern, and social institutions have become badges of their group's way of living. When one refers to the people of French-Canadian extraction in New England, of Dutch tradition in Pennsylvania, or of Mexican background in California, he points to ethnic groups which have immigrated to this country, brought with them characteristic patterns oi group living, and have perpetuated certain aspects of their cultures in the land of their adoption. Some nationality groups have held more tenaciously than others to their inherited folkways and customs, though none have entirely escaped the effects of assimilative influences. The variety of culture groups due to differences in nationality background is a significant fact in American life.

3. Religion has always been a powerful factor shaping the culture of a people. This is true because religion deals with some of the highest values to which the members of a group pay allegiance. These values include conceptions of the cosmos that produced and sustain man, of the human ego, of the social order, and of their dynamic interrelations. Religion also undertakes to explain the mysteries of life, death, and other climactic events of personality in terms of their cosmic significance. The religionist assumes that there are personality-making forces in the universe that are theistic in nature. He believes that man is ultimately dependent on these forces for his well-being, and must, therefore, come to terms with them by acts of faith to maintain his well-being. The ethical values involving man's relation to his fellow man are conditioned in part by the values imputed to the spiritual aspects of the universe.

The operational forces of a religion include a sacred literature, a set of rituals and beliefs, and a cult of institutional practices. In the case of Roman Catholicism, these forces exercise absolute authority over its devotees, control resting in the hierarchy of the Church. Protestantism has stressed experimentalism in religion, leading to the rise and develop-

ment of innumerable denominational groups which advocate a widely divergent set of beliefs, ceremonials, and institutions. Judaism, the parent of historic Christianity, is centered around ancient covenants that it is believed the maker and sustainer of the universe has entered into with his chosen people, to the spirit of which Jews must remain true if they would have the abiding favor of the divine. Although secularism has made strong inroads into the world view and the frame of values of Americans, churches representing various cultural viewpoints continue to command the loyalty of many Americans.

4. The socioeconomic status system is determined by and is also a determinant in the cultural classification of people. The economic denominator in human relationships may be said to divide people into upper, middle, and lower social classes, with graduated ranges of privilege or handicap. The upper class which lives in the favored area and the lower class which dwells in the disfavored areas, with the middle class in the intermediary section of the community, are almost always identifiable in any community.

In the social hierarchy, racial, nationality, and religious patterns of life have important concomitant significance. For instance, white Americans discriminate against Negroes in employment, housing, education, and social intercourse. A still finer cultural distinction works in the American scene. In their research Warner and Srole point out that light-skinned Caucasoids in the United States take social precedence in human relations over dark-skinned Caucasoids, all Caucasoids over Mongoloids and Caucasoid mixtures in which Caucasoid physical traits are obvious, the latter over mixed stock in which Mongoloid features prevail, and these over Negroes and Negroid mixtures.

Furthermore, persons of Anglo-Protestant tradition usually enjoy superior opportunity and favor in the social class system over other nationality and religious groups. Warner and Srole indicate, more particularly, that English-speaking Protestants as a rule command dominance over Protestants who do not speak English; the latter over English-speaking non-Christians; these over non-Christians who do not speak English; and so on down the social scale. The roles of dominant and subordinate groups in community life are an important index to the understanding of American culture. A social and economic hierarchy persists in the American scene in which racial, religious, and ethnic groups play an identifiable role in a sliding scale of human relationships.

PERSONAL FAMILIARITY AND VARIATIONS IN STEREOTYPES REGARDING JAPANESE*

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The present study is exploratory and deals with the following problems: (1) the relation between familiarity with persons of Japanese descent and uniformity of stereotypes regarding Japanese, (2) the relation between personal contact or familiarity with Japanese people and emotional tone expressed in stereotypes regarding Japanese, and (3) the relation between familiarity with Japanese people and degree of stereotyping regarding Japanese as a nationality or racial group.

The sample consisted of 148 students enrolled in classes either in sociology or in religion at the University of Southern California in May 1948. Familiarity with persons of Japanese descent was the criterion for selection of an experimental group. To be included in the experimental group, a student had to indicate that he had known at least a few Japanese people personally and, in addition, that he had experienced either favorable or unfavorable direct contact with them. This group consisted of 101 students. The control group consisted of 47 students who were not familiar with persons of Japanese descent.

The social characteristics of the sample were as follows: The average age of the experimental, or "familiar," group was 24.5 as compared with 22.1 years for the control group. The percentage of males in the "familiar" group was 43.6; that for the control group only 12.8. Over 25 per cent of those in the "familiar" group were married; only 6.5 per cent of the control group were married. Eighty per cent of the "familiar" group were Protestants compared with 70 per cent for the "unfamiliar" group. Fifty-three per cent of the experimental group were born on the West Coast; only 40 per cent of the control group were born in this area. Thirty-six per cent of the "familiar" group and 60 per cent of the "unfamiliar" group reported that they were majoring in sociology in the university. This great difference in percentages, with more sociology students in the control group, is an important fact to keep in mind. In a

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section of the author's study not being reported here,[1] it was discovered that advanced students in sociology exhibit significantly less stereotyping than nonsociology students. About 94 per cent of each group reported that they were of either American or North European descent.

The basic materials for the present study consisted of responses to 60 trait questions. The questions and alternatives were similar to those utilized by Blake and Dennis[2] in a study of Negro stereotypes. Subjects were assured of complete anonymity, and the following introductory statement appeared at the head of the questionnaire: "This is a survey of opinion regarding Americans (native-white) and Japanese *as nationality groups* (not as individuals). Please answer questions according to your *first* reactions." The introductory statement to the trait questions, with the first two questions included, follows:

Please place a check mark in one of the columns below according to the column head which you believe best answers each question. For instance, if the question were "Who has the darker skin?" and you believe the Americans do, check under "Americans." If you think Japanese have darker skin, check "Japanese"; if you think there is no difference, check "No difference"; if you don't know, check "Don't Know."

Question	Americans	Japanese	No Difference	Don't Know
Who are more cheerful?	....	....	....	....
Who are more cruel?	....	....	....	....

Placed after the 60 trait questions, in order not to bias the results, were "yes" and "no" questions designed to reveal the kind and degree of familiarity with Japanese people. The familiarity criterion was stated above.

The questionnaire allowed for three different types of responses: (1) a stereotyped response favoring either Japanese or Americans regarding a given trait, (2) an unbiased response showing no distinction between the two groups, and (3) a response showing lack of knowledge. The first or stereotyped responses showing definite discrimination between the two nationality groups furnished the most important data for this study. Per-

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[1] J. Walter Cobb, "Development of a Technique for Comparing Social Experiences as They Influence the Formulation of Stereotypes Regarding Japanese," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1947), pp. 18-35.

[2] R. Blake and W. Dennis, "Development of Stereotypes Concerning the Negro," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38:525-31, October 1943.

centages of responses in each of the "Americans" and "Japanese" alternatives were computed for both the experimental and control groups. These percentages were computed for each of the 60 trait questions. The experimental and control groups nearly always agreed as to which nationality was characterized by more of a given trait. For example, 42.5 per cent of the familiar students said the Japanese were more treacherous. None of them said the Americans were more treacherous. Among the unfamiliar students the percentage believing Japanese more treacherous was 74.2 and the percentage believing Americans more treacherous was 0. Since a higher percentage of both groups believed the Japanese more treacherous, the problem of comparing the two groups of students was to calculate the significance of differences in percentages of responses in the "Japanese" alternative— in this case 42.5 per cent for the familiar group and 74.2 per cent for the unfamiliar group. The critical ratio in this instance was 3.59, showing a significant difference between experimental and control groups. On the other hand, regarding the question as to which nationality group is more straightforward, the higher percentages were in the "Americans" category. Therefore, significance of differences in these percentages was calculated. In this instance, 59.4 per cent of the familiar students said the Americans were more straightforward compared with 82.9 per cent of the unfamiliar students who said Americans were more straightforward. The C.R. in this case was 2.83.

Comparisons between the two student groups regarding degree of stereotyping were made by counting the number of "stereotyped" responses (represented by checks in the *combined* "Americans" and "Japanese" columns) made by each subject, computing the mean "stereotype score" in the experimental and control groups and the significance of difference between the mean scores of these two groups. Percentages of total responses in each of the four questionnaire categories were also computed and the two student groups compared on the basis of these percentages.

Three hypotheses were tested: (1) Is familiarity with persons of Japanese descent associated with less uniformity in stereotypes regarding Japanese? (2) Is familiarity with persons of Japanese descent associated with responses favorable to the Japanese? (3) Is familiarity with Japanese people associated with a low degree of stereotyping regarding them and a high degree of nonstereotyped responses?

Following are the findings regarding the uniformity of stereotypes. A majority of students unfamiliar with Japanese considered Japanese to have more of the following 11 traits:

Trait	Per Cent
1. Hide feelings	85
2. Sly	79
3. Superstitious	79
4. Quiet	77
5. Treacherous	74
6. Better servant	72
7. Imitative	66
8. Inclined to cheat	62
9. Cruel	60
10. Religious	57
11. Better manners	53

A majority of the students familiar with Japanese believed the Japanese to have more of the following 7 traits than the Americans:

Trait	Per Cent
1. Hide feelings	78
2. Quiet	74
3. Thrifty	69
4. Better manners	60
5. Superstitious	57
6. Patient	57
7. Sly	51

A majority of the students unfamiliar with Japanese believed the Americans have more of the following 21 traits than the Japanese:

Trait	Per Cent
1. Pleasure-loving	96
2. Progressive	87
3. Loud-mouthed	83
4. Straightforward	83
5. Talkative	81
6. Wear flashy clothes	79
7. Sympathetic	74
8. Laughing	72
9. Respect for Bible	72
10. Sportsmanlike	70
11. Kind-hearted	68
12. Happy	67
13. Cheerful	65

14. Inclined to swear 62
15. Likely to gamble 62
16. Materialistic 62
17. Ambitious 55
18. Quick-tempered 55
19. Trustworthy 53
20. Honest 53
21. Practical 51

A majority of the students familiar with Japanese believed Americans to have more of the following traits than the Japanese:

Trait	Per Cent
1. Pleasure-loving	81
2. Loud-mouthed	76
3. Wear flashy clothes	73
4. Talkative	71
5. Progressive	67
6. Laughing	62
7. Respect for Bible	61
8. Straightforward	59
9. Materialistic	57
10. Inclined to swear	57
11. Likely to gamble	55
12. Quick-tempered	55
13. Sympathetic	52
14. Cheerful	52

Thus the findings support the first hypothesis, that *familiarity is associated with less uniformity*. A large per cent of unfamiliar students agreed that Japanese have more of 11 traits; a lower per cent of familiar students agreed that Japanese have more of only 7 traits. Also, a high per cent of unfamiliar students agreed that Americans have more of each of 21 traits as compared with the familiar group, which agreed less conclusively that Americans have more of only 14 traits. In each case, the traits assigned by a majority of students familiar with Japanese were only about two thirds as many as those assigned by students less familiar with them.

The following data support the second hypothesis, that *familiarity is associated with favorable emotional tone regarding Japanese*. Reliable differences in percentages of traits ascribed to Americans are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

TRAITS CONCERNING WHICH THERE WAS SIGNIFICANT DISAGREE-
MENT BETWEEN FAMILIAR AND UNFAMILIAR STUDENTS REGARDING
AMERICANS

Question	Per Cent Familiar	Per Cent Unfamiliar	C.R.
Practical	22.8	51.1	3.44
Honest	25.7	53.1	3.28
Sportsmanlike	45.5	70.2	2.98
Straightforward	59.4	82.9	2.83
Kind-hearted	43.5	68.1	2.79
Progressive	67.3	87.2	2.56
Intelligent	22.7	40.4	2.43
Sympathetic	53.4	74.2	2.40
Ambitious	34.6	55.3	2.36
Pleasure-loving	81.2	95.7	2.35
Trustworthy	33.7	53.2	2.23
Alert	18.8	36.1	2.22
Happy	48.6	66.7	2.03

It should be noted that, without exception, the higher percentages in the above list are those in the unfamiliar column. It will also be noted that the traits listed are traits which may be considered, as defined in our culture, favorable to the Americans.

Reliable differences in percentages of traits ascribed to Japanese are shown in Table 2. The traits ascribed to Japanese are less favorable, as defined by American culture, than those ascribed to Americans. Again, the higher percentages were invariably given by the group of students less familiar with Japanese people. In addition to the significant differences indicated here, it is also evident in the uniformity data given above that a majority of unfamiliar students assigned "treacherous," "inclined to cheat," "cruel," and "better servant," to Japanese; whereas none of these traits were agreed upon by a majority of the students familiar with Japanese as being more peculiar to Japanese than to Americans.[3]

[3] With an "index of favorability," Dorothy W. Seago found that a sample of college students attributed the following traits to Japanese: cruel, deceitful, treacherous, sly, and shrewd. A separate group of students had rated these traits as highly unfavorable. See "Stereotypes: Before Pearl Harbor and After," *Journal of Psychology,* 23:55-63, January 1947, p. 60.

TABLE 2
TRAITS CONCERNING WHICH THERE WAS SIGNIFICANT DISAGREE-
MENT BETWEEN FAMILIAR AND UNFAMILIAR STUDENTS REGARDING
JAPANESE

Question	Per Cent Familiar	Per Cent Unfamiliar	C.R.
Better servant	7.4	72.3	7.58
Inclined to cheat	5.9	61.7	7.45
Treacherous	42.5	74.2	3.59
Cruel	29.7	59.5	3.47
Sly	51.4	78.7	3.16
Imitative	38.6	65.9	3.06
Inclined to lie	18.8	40.4	2.80
Superstitious	57.4	78.7	2.51
Shrewd	24.7	34.0	2.44
Ignorant	22.8	40.4	2.21
Inclined to fight	29.7	46.3	2.09

The data tended to support the third hypothesis, that *familiarity with Japanese people is associated with a low degree of stereotyping regarding them and a high degree of nonstereotyped responses.*[4] Distribution of responses among the four alternative answers was (in percentages):

	Familiar	Unfamiliar
Americans	30.1	36.5
Japanese	20.8	25.3
No Difference	31.8	18.7
Don't Know	17.3	19.5

For the familiar group, 50.9 per cent of the responses were stereotyped. On the other hand, 61.8 per cent of the responses of the unfamiliar group were of a stereotyped nature. There is a significant difference of percentages in the "No Difference" category: 31.8 per cent of the responses of the familiar group were unbiased as compared with only 18.7 per cent of the responses of the unfamiliar group.

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[4] "Degree of stereotyping" as used in this paper refers to the *degree of differentiation* between Americans and Japanese which is shown by the responses of the subjects. It may be that at some points stereotypes regarding one nationality group may correspond with those of the other. For example, both groups may be considered by some to be "industrious." See Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 28:280-90, 1933.

A high critical ratio (3.23) was obtained in regard to the difference between mean stereotype scores of the two student groups (the average of individual scores based on the combined responses in the "Americans" and "Japanese" categories).

To summarize, two groups of students at the University of Southern California were compared as to the character and degree of stereotyping regarding Japanese. One hundred and one students who reported direct personal experience with persons of Japanese descent were compared with 47 students who were relatively unfamiliar with Japanese people as individuals. Subjects were asked to compare Americans with Japanese in regard to 60 traits. Four alternative answers were given for each trait question: "Americans," "Japanese," "No Difference," and "Don't Know."

The following conclusions may be drawn from the findings of this exploratory study: (1) Familiarity with persons of Japanese descent is associated with less uniformity in stereotypes regarding Japanese (when compared with Americans). (2) Familiarity with persons of Japanese descent is associated with responses favorable to the Japanese. (3) Familiarity with Japanese people is associated with a low degree of stereotyping regarding them and a high degree of nonstereotyped responses.[5]

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[5] Because of the limited and exploratory nature of the present study, the conclusions are presented, not as verified generalizations, but as fruitful hypotheses for further research. This study gives no basis for assumptions regarding the relation between actual national character and stereotypes. It simply describes a study of the extent of generalization regarding the characteristics of persons of Japanese descent, regardless of their place of residence.

STATUS LEVELS OF MEXICANS

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Approximately 3 million persons of Mexican ancestry reside in the United States. Recent data of a comparative nature are difficult to obtain, inasmuch as the Mexican was omitted from the 1940 Census as a separate ethnic or population group. In the Sixteenth Census of the United States the Mexican was classified as either "white" or "Indian." Hence, some interpolation of fragmentary sources is imperative when considering the Mexican in order to present a meaningful statement of four status levels—social, legal, educational, and economic. These status levels are fluid and subject to constant change.

I

There are several methods of approximating the social status level of an ethnic group. The studies by E. S. Bogardus on social distance give some indication of the status accorded to Mexicans by various ethnic groups in the United States.[1] It is of special importance to observe that the social distance rankings for the Mexicans remained almost constant in spite of the twenty years between the first and second test. In 1926 he obtained the reactions of 1,725 persons in six regions of the United States to a list of ethnic groups nearly the same as was used twenty years later. These persons were selected on the basis of roughly defined stratified sampling. The Mexican was assigned twenty-seventh place in 1926, and twenty years later he had dropped to twenty-ninth place.[2] The Spanish were rated in twelfth place in 1926 and sixteenth place in 1946. On the other hand, the Indian occupied twenty-first place in 1926 and twenty-fourth place in 1946. Of sociological interest is the finding that the offspring of miscegenation may occupy a lower status than either of its parent ethnic groups.[3]

A recent study by Eugene S. Richards disclosed that the Mexican was assigned the lowest social status of nine ethnic groups.[4] About 1,700 white

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[1] Perhaps it should be pointed out that Bogardus does not necessarily subscribe to the assumption that the rankings of ethnic groups reflect their correct social status. The writer is testing this hypothesis.

[2] Emory S. Bogardus, "Changes in Racial Distances," *International Journal of Opinion and Research,* 1:58, December 1947.

[3] Mexican Americans were accorded a slightly higher rank than Mexicans, namely, twenty-sixth in 1926 and the same rank in 1946.

[4] A forthcoming publication by Eugene S. Richards. Ethnic groups considered: Chinese, Filipinos, Foreign-born Whites, Native-born Whites, Indians, Japanese, Jews, Mexicans, and Negroes.

university students from the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana were asked to check traits, either positive or negative, that described the nine ethnic groups under consideration. Of the forty traits considered the following five traits were most often checked as depicting the Mexicans: (1) possess a low moral standard, (2) will steal, (3) are dirty, (4) help to keep wages low, and (5) are spreaders of disease. The Mexican group received 38.5 per cent of the positive items checked and 61.5 per cent of the negative items checked.

The low-to-moderate social status of the Mexican may be appreciated by observing the reluctance of many persons to refer to these people as "Americans." In a number of social situations they are designated as Mexican Americans or Spanish Americans, but rarely as Americans. "We're Americans for the draft, but Mexicans for jobs and the police."[5] It appears that "typical Americans," or the majority group, assume that Americans are Anglo-Americans. Another sidelight on the social standing of the Mexicans may be noted by observing the tendency to refer to the favorable aspects of Mexican culture as Spanish, and thus to relegate to the background many of the Indian patterns as primitive and unimportant. One rarely sees an advertisement for Mexican food, but Spanish dishes are common on the menus of restaurants in the Southwest. Since corn is the matrix of most so-called "Spanish foods," it is rather obvious who should get the credit. A Mexican-American university student observes: "I am ashamed of my group. So many of my Mexican friends claim to be Spanish in the university. We are Americans in the sense of ancestry and pioneer background, and as to our Indian ancestors we may be proud of their glorious culture."[6] As Mexican American students are graduated from the high schools, it is generally expected that they should affect the role of an American of Spanish ancestry. The role playing involved has a tendency to make it appear that intellectual superiority and Spanish ancestry are definitely related. It becomes easy for the majority group to observe that "Mexicans never finish high school." Hence, the Mexicans become stereotyped in the minds of the Anglo-Americans as persons of lower abilities and cultural attainments. Every American university student who admits his Mexican ancestry tests the misconception that the predominantly Spanish background spells superiority and success.

Another area offering some understanding of the social status of the Mexican American may be found in the development of the zoot-suit

[5] Beatrice Griffith, *American Me* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), p. 15.

[6] From a statement of R. L., a senior at the University of Southern California, August 4, 1948.

cult and the resulting friction in Los Angeles during the recent war. This peculiar garb seems to have won wide acceptance because of its attention-getting qualities, as a symbol of emancipation, and for some as a fashion. The zoot-suit was accepted by some Negroes, Filipinos, and Anglo-Americans of the jitterbug cult.[7]

The Mexican gangs in Los Angeles involved only a small percentage of the total Mexican population. Bogardus estimates that about one in thirty-six Mexican youths was a member of a zoot-suit gang.[8] For the most part, these Mexican gangs fought each other; however, the daily press now and then featured a story depicting conflict between zoot-suit gangs composed of Mexicans and Negroes. Reporters failed to state that these gangs of American Mexican youth were the products of low social and economic status. These Americans of Mexican ancestry were logical candidates for zoot-suit associations, especially if they had been denied a war job, failed to meet the physical standards for military service, and had been poor students in school. Inasmuch as the zoot-suit gave an immediate status to the wearer, a "consciousness of kind" quickly developed among the Mexican youth. A unique garb gave an esoteric status to the wearer.

The conflict between American sailors and Mexican zoot-suit wearers received biased coverage in the press. Sailors, and other men in military service, represent persons living under restricted conditions and exacting discipline. The Articles of War, with their universal coverage for all human deviation, certainly serve to repress the normal impulses of the serviceman. From a sociological point of view the uniforms of the two groups represent the freedom of the civilian as a zoot-suiter and, on the other hand, the strict discipline of the sailor in his garb, which on occasion has been referred to as a "monkey suit." In retrospect, it is probably true that many of the Mexican boys desired the patriotic status of the military uniform and many of the sailors wanted the freedom symbolized by the zoot-suit.

Both groups did bodily harm to each other and the catalyst of rumor made minor incidents stand out as major issues between the zoot-suiters and the sailors. Servicemen, in some instances, did use group tactics on a few zoot-suiters on the ground of "protecting American womanhood." Some of the zoot-suiters were doing nothing to bring criticism upon them-

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[7] The Mexican zoot-suiters varied their garb with the use of triple-sole shoes and their appearance by the ducktail haircut. Mexicans who accepted the zoot-suits were known as "drapes" and the Mexicans who dressed in conventional garb were referred to as "squares."

[8] A splendid analysis of the zoot-suit problem is to be found in the article by Emory S. Bogardus, "Gangs of Mexican-American Youth," *Sociology and Social Research,* 28: 55-66, September-October 1943.

selves; however, when the servicemen moved in on Main Street in Los Angeles "on liberty" many an innocent bystander was roughed up. A vivid account is found in the following statement by a Negro university student of a sailor-versus-zoot-suit fracas:

Late one Saturday afternoon a few months prior to my induction in the Army, I was walking down one of the principal streets of a community near Los Angeles. I was with three Mexican lads. A cab drove up to the curb and four Marines hopped out. One of the Marines said "let's give these 4-F zoot-suiters some combat training." There was nothing else to do but fight. Since I had been an amateur boxer, I guess I did more than my share. I broke the jaw on one of the USO commandos just as the police arrived. The police took me into custody. My guilt as a zoot-suiter was determined by a careful measurement of my trousers! My trousers proved me innocent. However, one of the officers phoned my mother and warned her that I should not be seen in public with Mexicans who apparently were zoot-suiters. Uncle Sam solved my clothing problem with a complete G.I. outfit in a very short time.[9]

No doubt one of the major factors in assigning a low social standing to the Mexican is the tendency of the majority group to think of him as a peon. He is too often depicted on post cards as a person sleeping against a shady wall. In a go-getting culture, such as ours, such a stereotype cannot offer status. The American of Mexican ancestry as an artist, a writer, or a scientist is omitted rather completely from this visualization of role. It must not be forgotten that the successful Mexican is likely to define himself as "Spanish," which adds status to the Spanish and detracts from the natural abilities of the Indian ancestry.

II

To some extent the legal status of the Mexican varies from state to state. Perhaps one of the interesting aspects of the legal status of the Mexican immigrant is his adverse reaction to becoming an American citizen. It is known that most of the citizens of the United States of Mexican ancestry acquired that status through birth in this country, not through the process of naturalization.[10] Some of the reasons for the failure of Mexican immigrants to become naturalized citizens of this country may be worth noting: (1) cost of securing the necessary documents, (2) difficulty of speaking in a foreign language, (3) inability to furnish adequate proof of legal entry into the United States and the possibility of deportation once naturalization proceedings begin, and (4) a deep loyalty to a country only a few hundred miles away. Perhaps a fifth

[9] From a statement of R. L. B., January 28, 1948.

[10] The great resistance to the naturalization process is pointed out in the community study by Ruth D. Tuck. Out of 277 immigrant Mexicans interviewed, only one had taken out his first papers. See Professor Tuck's *Not with the Fist* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947), p. 207.

reason of signal importance might be added, namely, the foreign-born Mexican cannot always ascertain how he will benefit from the naturalization status. "While still a Mexican citizen, the Mexican can call on a Mexican consul for aid when he experiences difficulty, but when he becomes a citizen of the United States this assistance is lost."[11]

Before the United States Supreme Court decision on restrictive covenants in the spring of 1948, the Mexican had been defined legally as "white." Hence, the usual "Caucasian clauses" could not be interpreted to discriminate against the Mexican. The American of Mexican ancestry has few legal prohibitions opposing his free movement. True, there may be isolated examples of discriminatory treatment, but not as a legal policy of separation as in the case of the Negro in the South. Hence, the Mexican and the Jew find themselves discriminated against largely by persons of prejudice rather than by laws.

While official discrimination against the Mexican is not sanctioned by the courts, there are many instances of personal discrimination. Malcolm Ross, formerly director of the FEPC, cites several incidents of discrimination against Mexican veterans, including a Mexican veteran who had been presented with the Congressional Medal of Honor by the President of the United States. A veteran of Mexican ancestry was refused service in a drug store in a Texas town.[12] Pauline R. Kibbe[13] has recorded several incidents where Mexicans in uniform have been the subject of discrimination. The case of a young sergeant from Mission, Texas, may be illustrative of ethnic prejudice. The soldier had completed twenty-five missions over enemy territory as an aerial gunner on a B-17 bomber and was returned to the United States because of an injury. The community of Mission presented him with a watch as a token of its appreciation for his courage. A few months later he married one of the local Mexican girls, and a small wedding party drove to a night club near Mission to celebrate the occasion. The doorman refused to admit the young people. Upon later questioning, the doorman remarked that he would have admitted the Mexican soldier but not his wife. Not long after this incident he was sent overseas to the Pacific theater to meet death in combat. This example of

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[11] Emory S. Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934), p. 78.

[12] Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947), p. 272.

[13] *Latin Americans in Texas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946), p. 213.

discrimination is not typical of relations between Mexicans and majority group members in Texas, but indicates the degree to which prejudice against the Mexican may be expressed.

An insight into the differential legal status of the Mexican as compared with other ethnic groups may be obtained by a reference to the report by E. M. Lemert and Judy Rosberg.[14] They investigated the arrest-felony conviction ratios (the number of arrests on felony charges in Los Angeles County divided by the number of felony convictions). In rank order the ratios were: Negroes, 7.7; Filipinos, 5.7; *Mexicans,* 5.3; Chinese and Japanese, 3.7; white (including Jews), 2.7. It is claimed by these writers that these high arrest rates of the minorities should not be regarded as objective measures of criminality but as indicating differences in the amount of punitive deviation. Hence, "these figures would seem to corroborate the impression that the police arrest Negroes and Mexicans in an indiscriminate, wholesale fashion by 'dragnet' methods."[15] The Mexican is arrested in many instances on the charge of a felony, but evidence is lacking to convict him.

There is a history of differential treatment toward the Mexican in the Southwest and Pacific Coast. It was not long ago that a white man might harm a Mexican and suffer no great penalty, but the reverse was rarely true. A long list of examples of differential legal status between "whites and Mexicans" is cited by Paul S. Taylor.[16] In California, to cite a contemporary example, many of the automobile insurance companies refuse or discourage applications from Mexicans. Two devices are used to screen the applicants: a statement concerning race and ability to speak English clearly. Upon questioning as to why Mexicans are not insured, one of the automobile underwriters gave the following reasons: (1) we have no chance in a court case, since the Mexican cannot make himself understood to his advantage, (2) the jury may be prejudiced against him, (3) we feel that he is a poor driver, and (4) he will be driving a very old automobile with its inherent liabilities and perhaps without much pride in its possession.[17]

14 "Crime and Punishment among Minority Groups in Los Angeles County," *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Sociological Society,* June 1946, p. 133.

15 Edwin M. Lemert and Judy Rosberg, *The Administration of Justice to Minority Groups in Los Angeles County* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), p. 3.

16 *An American-Mexican Frontier* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), pp. 167-74.

17 From an interview with a representative of a prominent California automobile underwriter, August 20, 1948.

III

The educational development or status of the Mexican is not high. Since the American culture places a premium on the amount of formal schooling an individual attains, the Mexican finds himself at considerable disadvantage. His culture has been geared to an agricultural tempo, and the conflict between rural and urban values is part of the problem. A number of studies are available that point up the fact that the educational status of the Mexican is low because of poor school attendance, limited average grade completion, and frequent school failures. Some of this low educational status may be explained in terms of high mobility necessitated as transient workers, difficulties centering upon bilingualism, and perhaps a culture that values "living" rather than schooling. The 1930 Census indicates that the Mexican had the lowest school attendance record of the major population groups.[18] To some readers it may seem strange that the Mexican has a lower school attendance record than the Negro. The poor school attendance record of the Mexican may be appreciated in another light—by a reference to the high percentage of Mexican immigrants unable to speak English.[19] It must be recognized that a superior command of the English language adds status and an inferior command of the language detracts. No doubt some of the first- and second-generation problems result from a differential command of English. Mutual suspicion is encouraged when there is an inability to comprehend the verbalization of either generation.

What factors account for the Mexican's retardation in school and learning to speak English? Some of the prominent factors underlying the low educational status of the Mexican immigrant, and to a limited degree a similar status of the Mexican American, are the following: (1) frequent shifting back and forth between this country and Mexico decreases the importance of becoming Americanized, (2) the high mobility of Mexican labor interrupts regular school attendance, (3) illness and poor medical care depress school attendance, (4) the low wage scale of the Mexican forces the entire family into various jobs to augment the total income, and (5) there is a somewhat futile attitude toward formal schooling which may be expressed in the statement "Why is José going to school? Isn't he going to pick fruit anyway?"

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[18] The 1930 Census gives the following information on per cent school attendance for persons 5 to 20 years of age: Mexicans, 52.1; Negro, 60.0; Indian, 60.2; White, 71.5; Chinese, 75.6; and Japanese, 84.0.

[19] The 1930 Census indicates that the per cent of foreign born over ten years of age unable to speak English is as follows: Mexican, 55.0; Indian, 32.7; Chinese, 27.8; Japanese, 21.6; and total foreign born, 8.7.

A few psychologists and educators have claimed that the Mexican does poorly in school because of his "limited" intelligence. It must be remembered that the paper-and-pencil tests of intelligence measure alertness in terms of the American culture, not Mexican. Before the proposition can be accepted that the Mexican does not measure up to other ethnic groups in intelligence, the following qualifications must be kept in mind: (1) American tests of intelligence place a premium on speed, (2) the tests are strongly urban biased, (3) command of English is imperative, and (4) the Mexicans who are best educated may pass for Spanish or "white." Cultural factors and certain selective factors probably account for the differential scores made on tests of intelligence better than does a difference in *native* ability between ethnic groups.

Segregation of the Mexican in predominantly Spanish-speaking neighborhoods tends to retard the Americanization process. The segregated school has been abolished, but the fact that Mexicans are likely to live in neighborhoods composed mainly of Spanish-speaking people insulates the Mexican from contacts with other American children. The few English-speaking children may attend school outside the Mexican community.[20]

IV

The limited economic status of the Mexican American is well known. Economic status has a great significance in reference to other statuses. Inasmuch as poverty is highly correlated with other social problems, the economic status of the Mexican is of particular importance.

Accurate data setting forth the economic statuses of ethnic groups are difficult to find. However, a number of studies offer some insight into this phase of human relations. The Los Angeles Co-ordinating Council reported that before the advent of World War II the median Mexican family income did not exceed $800, or about $500 less than the minimum required for decent living.[21] Another study indicated the income of Mexican wage earners participating in the Cleland House Program in Los Angeles. Before the war no wage earner associated with the Cleland

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[20] One of the famous test cases of the segregation of Mexicans from other Americans concerned the case of Gonzalo and others vs. Westminister School District of Orange County on February 18, 1946. In this case United States District Judge Paul J. McCormick, of the Southern District of California, granted an injunction restraining further discriminatory practices against Mexican pupils. It was decided that the paramount requisite under "equal protection of the laws" in California's system of public education was social equality. Segregation implied social inferiority to all pupils of Mexican descent. The segregated school for the Mexican is passing out as an ethnic institution.

[21] Quoted by Ruth D. Tuck, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

House Program received more than $190 a month, but during the war 47 per cent earned from $190 to $320 a month.[22]

Reference may be made to the study on "Status Levels of American Jews," which compared occupational classifications of persons with predominantly Spanish-Mexican, Jewish, and representative American names.[23] It may be recalled that the persons with Spanish-Mexican names were to be found in the low-skilled jobs. Poor wages and low occupational skill are likely to be correlated with each other to a great degree. Persons with Spanish-Mexican names were represented in the unskilled occupations by the large percentage of 55 per cent; persons of typically "American" names were modestly represented by 21 per cent in unskilled jobs, and the Jewish ethnic names were infrequently represented by only 5 per cent in such callings.

Pauline Kibbe cites a study made by the University of Texas that throws more light on a comparison of family incomes of Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. About 1,600 questionnaires were received by parents of pupils in six Texas communities having a majority of Mexicans as residents. In no case did a Mexican family report an annual income of more than $2,249. The average size of Mexican families was 6.2 individuals, whereas Anglo-American families averaged only 4.6 persons and reported incomes ranging as high as $5,000.[24]

Perhaps the most recent data concerning the economic status of this ethnic group may be found by a brief review of the contracts for Mexican

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22 Mabelle Ginn, "Social Implications of the Living Conditions of a Selected Number of Families Participating in the Cleland House Program," unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1947, p. 79. See also the study by Constantine Panunzio, *How the Mexicans Earn and Live,* Berkeley: University of California Publications in Economics, 1933, pp. 54-66. He found that the annual income of the Mexican was about $300 less than the average of workers in manufacturing industries in that community. The Mexican worker earned a little more than $1,000 annually.

23 *Sociology and Social Research,* 32:944-53, July-August 1948.

24 Kibbe, *op. cit.,* p. 54. Note the following statement concerning the economic status of Mexican families: "During the year preceding the date of interview, the families had a median cash income from all sources of only $350 to provide for their large households, averaging 6.6 persons. This was considerably less than the minimum annual income of $480 estimated by the Texas Social Welfare Association to be necessary to maintain relief families, averaging only 4.2 members, at a level of health and decency. Yet very few of the families had received any assistance from public or private agencies during the year. For a detailed analysis of this situation see the work by Amber A. Warburton, Helen Wood, and Marian M. Crane, *The Work and Welfare of Children of Agricultural Laborers in Hidalgo County, Texas,* U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication 298, Washington, D.C., 1943.

field laborers and railroad workers in effect during World War II. These contracts indicate the prevailing conditions of the Mexican national as an employee and imply the Mexican's standard of living.

In the first quarter of 1942 California fruit growers requested the United States Employment Service that Mexican nationals be brought to California to aid in the harvesting and processing of fruit.[25] The scarcity of labor for the fields resulted from the drafting of Mexican Americans and the migration of other Mexican Americans to defense industries where more wages might be paid. No doubt, the mass evacuation of 110,000 Japanese from the Pacific Coast states contributed to the need for these workers. It was assumed that the introduction of Mexican nationals would not upset the existing ethnic accommodation in the fields.

On September 29, 1942, the first group of Mexican nationals arrived in California to help in the sugar beet harvest. These workers were assured of 75 per cent employment during the contract period of six months at a rate of pay of not less than 30 cents an hour. However, an estimate placed the amount actually paid to Mexican nationals at 61 cents an hour.[26]

A second war program in which Mexican nationals participated was the maintenance of the railroads, especially the western roads. These workers were guaranteed a minimum of 75 per cent full-time employment in each pay period. They were assured of at least 46 cents an hour and later this base pay was increased to 57 cents. During the first three years of the war about 120,000 Mexican nationals came to the United States to work in the fields and about 80,000 nationals of Mexico augmented the labor supply on the railroads. The latest figures obtainable place the number of Mexican nationals as agricultural workers in the United States at 26,577.[27] Of course, this number of Mexican nationals varies greatly with the seasons of the year.

In conclusion, these status levels may be interpreted as integral aspects of the Mexican gestalt which is held by many Americans. Social status tends to be a generalized evaluation based on legal, educational, and economic status levels. However, the status within a given category or level is subject to change; hence, the status levels reported in this paper relate to the present situation. The chances are good that in the United States the combined status levels for the Mexican will improve. At the

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25 A comprehensive statement on the Mexican labor contracts may be found in the work of Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers in the United States,* Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 1.

26 *Ibid.,* p. 9.

27 *Immigration and Naturalization Service Monthly Review,* October 1947.

moment the Mexican's status levels appear as follows: (1) social status is probably in the lower quartile of a representative list of ethnic groups, (2) official legal status seems to be equal to the majority group, inasmuch as the Mexican is defined as "white" in most of these relationships; however, the Mexican finds himself discriminated against by the police, who accord him a low legal status, (3) educational status is very modest in terms of formal schooling completed, and (4) economic status is probably in the lower quartile of ethnic groups in terms of pay rates and percentage of Mexicans in skilled jobs and the professions.

SOCIAL THEORY

**AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER. By Paul Blanshard.
Boston: The Beacon Press, 1949, pp. 350.**

This is not an exposition of the Catholic people, but an exposition of
the Catholic hierarchy. Mr. Blanshard feels that "when a church enters
the arena of controversial social policy and attempts to control the judg-
ment of its own people (and of other people) on foreign affairs, social
hygiene, public education and modern science, it must be reckoned with as
an organ of political and cultural power."

The author lets the Catholic hierarchy speak for itself on such questions
as "How the Hierarchy Works," its conceptions of "Church, State and
Democracy," "Public Schools and Public Money," "The Church and
Medicine," "Sex, Birth Control and Eugenics," "Marriage, Divorce and
Annulment," "Science, Scholarship and Superstition," "Fascism, Com-
munism and Labor," "The Catholic Plan for America," "Tolerance, Ap-
peasement and Freedom." The chapter on "Censorship and Boycott" was
presented to the public when parts of this book first appeared in twelve
installments in *The Nation,* ending June 4, 1948.

In addition to being carefully documented, the book is clearly written.
It brings to light information which must become plain to the people of the
United States as they become more and more a part of one world. As the
author states, we must be free to choose our own futures, but we should
also know that the roads to representative democracy and to a church-
state lead in opposite directions.   ARCHIE R. CROUCH

**HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO MODERN PSYCHOLOGY. Revised
Edition. By Gardner Murphy. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company,
1949, pp. xiv+466.**

Since the first edition of this book was published in 1928, many develop-
ments have occurred in the psychological field. These have been considered
succinctly. Roughly speaking, the first half of the book, which treats of
"The Antecedents of Modern Psychology" and with "The Rise of the
Research Spirit," remains essentially the same as in the first edition. It
is in the third and fourth parts, which are entitled "Contemporary Psy-
chological Systems" and "Some Representative Research Areas," respec-
tively, that what amounts to a new treatise appears.

The systems or schools covered in Part Three are Behaviorism, Neo-Associationism, Gestaltism, Field Theory, and Freudianism. In each instance a compact analysis is given. The discussion of behaviorism is concluded with a list of the progeny of this system. In connection with association-psychology it is asserted that "the conceptions of Spencer and Bain a hundred years ago remain dominant." Gestalt psychology, likewise, "is fully in the modern spirit." Its emphasis on wholeness and fields is strong today. The chapter on Field Theory is devoted largely to Lewin's ideas and to criticisms of these proposals. Freudianism is honored with two chapters instead of the one chapter that is given to each of the other systems.

The representative research areas include measurement of intelligence, physiological psychology, child psychology, social psychology, and personality. The discussion of methods is limited, possibly because psychology is still experimenting very extensively with methods. The chapter on social psychology is limited to the treatment of the subject as represented by certain psychologists. The concluding chapter brings "into focus a few of the more obvious cultural determinants" of individual psychology. A comprehensive and well-considered treatment of historical and current psychology has been achieved by the author.   E.S.B.

A MODERN LAW OF NATIONS. By Philip C. Jessup. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. xii+236.

Believing there is urgent need for international lawyers to begin a systematic re-examination of the traditional body of international law, the author contributes an excellent statement of basic principles and problems of revision as he sees them. It is shown that international law must be so framed as to apply directly to individual citizens as well as to states. The traditional ideas of international law must be modified by the development of a community of interests among nations. Nations are interdependent, and international law and world organization should be revised to make the most of that condition. There are new angles to the recognition of states and governments, of insurgents and belligerents. The "rights of man" issue is no longer strictly national, but a proper subject for international law, as has been stipulated in the United Nations Charter. There are complications concerning the responsibility of states for injuries to aliens, which need remedy. It is suggested that the word *aliens* be transformed to *individuals*.

The author also considers problems of forming, interpreting, and amending contractual agreements of individuals and states; also the legal regulation of the use of force. The United Nations Charter is some improvement over the Covenant of the League of Nations, according to the author. He notes the fact that the General Assembly of the United Nations affirmed the principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the Nürnberg Tribunal and the judgment of the Tribunal. Similar principles for trials of war criminals in the Far East were also approved by the General Assembly.

The interpretation of the author is sound and constructive. He recognizes the need for a functional development of international law. The traditions of so-called international law have become outmoded. In fact, there is at present no international law worth the name. It is time to provide genuine law and sanctions to regulate and protect individuals and groups in their international relations. The author stresses substantive rules of law while suggesting practical changes in international law.

J.E.N.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER: Adjustment During Army Life. Volume I. By Samuel A. Stouffer, Edward A. Suchman, Leland C. DeVinney, Shirley A. Star, and Robin M. Williams, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 599.

This important enterprise was sponsored by the Research Branch, Information and Education Division of the Army, under the able direction of Major General Frederick H. Osborn. At the close of the war the data were released to a civilian committee of the Social Science Research Council, which was supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

These empirical studies confirm the stories of G.I. Joe as revealed by the late Ernie Pyle and the reflective attitudes of Willy and Joe as sketched by Bill Mauldin. Most of the empirical data cited in this work was the result of polls conducted on a variety of morale subjects in the several branches of the Army. Chief areas of concern were personal adjustment to the Army, social mobility in the Army, job assignment and job satisfaction, attitudes toward leadership and social control, the orientation of soldiers toward war, and, finally, an intensive survey of the attitudes of Negroes toward military relationships and the implications of the war. Some of the information reproduced in this volume will be familiar to readers of *What the Soldier Thinks*, a periodical widely circulated as an orientation guide in military installations.

The striking findings of this study cannot be summarized in a short review except to observe that the soldier's status in the Army had a tremendous effect on his expressed feelings of well-being. Many of the findings deal with the attitudes of enlisted men and officers, overseas and United States veterans, combat and noncombat veterans. Items most frequently matched to disclose specific attitudes were education, military rank, length of military service, age, marital status, theater of war, and branch of service. In some instances graphic analysis indicated that attitudes may take the form of a U-shaped distribution. It appears that the two extreme points of view toward a given question may both be held with greater intensity than the middle or moderate views. Extreme attitudes may be coterminous with intensely held convictions.

This volume is a contribution to sociology in the sense that verified empirical findings are presented, the graphic presentation of the findings enables the reader to grasp quickly the social implications, and the verbatim quotations from personal documents humanize a scientific report to a point of great interest.   E.C.M.

COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH 1948-1949. Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. xviii+332.

Reports on eight projects by eleven different research workers are given in this volume. The topics deal with a variety of themes, such as children's reactions to comics, radio programming, women's reactions to morning radio programs, what "missing the newspaper" means, overlapping magazine reading, deviant cases in communications research, interpersonal influence and communications research, and domestic broadcasting in the USSR.

Space permits further reference to only one of these studies, that by Bernard Berelson on "Missing the Newspaper" and its meaning. In 1945 the delivery men of eight major New York City newspapers went on strike for over two weeks. Some persons missed their newspaper because reading it had become "a ceremonial or ritualistic or near-compulsive act"; others missed it because it provided news and information; some, because reading the newspaper indirectly gave them prestige; some, because the newspaper gave them "a source of security in a disturbing world."

The results of several of these studies are chiefly factual. Since they are made to meet the needs of commercial interests, they do not as a rule contribute extensively to methodology or to social-psychology theory. However, they are all interesting as bases for further experimental research.

E.S.B.

PATHS TO THE PRESENT. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York: The Mac-
millan Company, 1949, pp. 317.

In this series of thirteen brilliant essays Professor Schlesinger has shown
great sophistication in social analysis. The insights into American life and
the charm of writing are reminiscent of de Tocqueville.

The interesting hierarchy of our presidents, from great to failures as
rated by fifty-five leading historians, is the most publicized part of the
book. Of more sociological value, however, is the "yardstick for presidents"
derived by analysis of the leadership qualities of the six men rated as great.
"Persisting Problems of the Presidency" will be helpful to those who are
working to improve the conditions of the office and the quality of its
incumbents.

In a stimulating essay on "A Nation of Joiners" our voluntary associa-
tions are shown to be a bulwark against totalitarianism. The section deal-
ing with "War and Peace" illuminates contemporary problems against
the background of history to demonstrate that as long as there are great
world wars America will become involved. The author points out in pass-
ing that we have already participated in nine, not two, world wars since
1689.

Social and economic problems arising from immigration and from
urbanization are dealt with expertly. The growth of cities is held to have
lessened our optimism, to have substituted specialization for versatility.
A blending of city and country is producing our modern way of life. The
author anticipates that the problems generated by this blending process
will be happily resolved.

This brief volume can be recommended to all sociologists as giving an
outsider's fresh insight into problems with which they deal daily. It should
be ranked among the most competent and urbane books of essays by Ameri-
can historians.   JOHN T. GULLAHORN
                                             Harvard University

RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Lowery Nelson. New York: American Book Co.,
1948, pp. xvi+567.

Professor Nelson has prepared a well-organized textbook on the soci-
ology of rural life with emphasis on social institutions and forms of social
interaction among rural groups. There are numerous tables, charts, graphs,
and photographs, together with excellent bibliographies, questions for
discussion, and other teaching aids. The book should receive wide accept-
ance by students and teachers.   E.F.Y.

HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND THE PRINCIPLE OF LEAST EFFORT. By
George Kingsley Zipf. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press,
Inc., 1949, pp. xi+573.

The ambitious undertaking of reducing to natural law the fundamental
fact in understanding human behavior is the task which Professor Zipf
sets for himself in this book. He finds it in the "Principle of Least Effort,"
which he declares to be "the primary principle that governs our entire
individual and collective behavior of all sorts, including the behavior of
our language and preconceptions." After stating his problem thus, he
proceeds with great meticulousness to show that all behavior is motivated
by the urge to minimize effort. Beginning his inquiry with a nice investi-
gation into the economy of words and speech, he builds up his case for
the minimization of effort by reciting arguments toward establishing the
economy in the entire sensory field. He constructs a hypothesis that relates
to the economy practiced in the problem of stable and unstable interna-
tional equilibrium and pursues this further with the question of nations as
dominance systems. All this extensive inquiry is developed so that the uni-
fying principle of least effort will "facilitate a systematization of an exact
science of living behavior." With the establishment of such, the author
believes that an objective language will evolve which will enable persons
to discuss social problems as impersonally as the physicist utilizes the
language of physics for its problems. A principle of least effort mentioned
in relation to sexual selection might here be cited: "that mate who likes
to be treated as one likes to treat, and in turn likes to treat as one likes to be
treated, and who most shares one's views and habits, bids fair to be the
most economical mate." The Golden Rule is scientific after all! Professor
Zipf writes engagingly and at times convincingly, but to reduce human
behavior, individual and collective, at one fell swoop, to this one principle
seems comparable to reducing man to one atom.   M.J.V.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CRIMINOLOGY. Edited by Vernon C. Branham and
Samuel B. Kutash. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. 527.

To prepare a pioneer encyclopedia on any important subject is an
ambitious undertaking. The various sciences have suffered because of a
lack of systematic compilation of pertinent material. The encyclopedia on
crime and criminality serves an important purpose. A condensed compen-
dium of existing facts and description of current trends and practices is
a handy reference book. The sixty-one contributors are specialists in a
variety of disciplines including sociology, psychology, psychiatry, medicine,

law, criminological research, police science, penology, education, history, philosophy, and religion. To edit articles contributed by a wide range of specialists who hold divergent and sometimes conflicting points of view, to cover all basic concepts and theories, and to avoid duplication is a difficult task. On the whole, the editors did a remarkable job of compiling and editing the material, though it took almost five years to complete the work, which explains in part why descriptions of current trends and recent publications are lacking in some of the articles. Each article contains a bibliography. Some authors present comprehensive though selective bibliographies, while others refer only to their own previous publications. The book by F. G. Gilbert, *Criminal Law and Practice of the State of New York* (1935), is used most frequently.

It is not possible to adequately appraise the relative merits of the descriptive articles and definitions of terms. The bulk of the material has to do with adult criminology rather than with juvenile delinquency. Some twenty-five pages (with double columns) are devoted to "Criminal Law and Procedure," while only two pages are used for "Juvenile Delinquency," though additional space is given to certain phases of delinquency in other articles, notably "Control of Delinquency and Crime." The article on delinquency, brief as it is, is nevertheless a concise and fairly complete statement of the meaning, instances, causative factors, and programs of treatment and prevention. The articles on "Social Disorganization and Crime" and "Sociological Aspects of Crime" are ably written.

M.H.N.

THE THIRD MENTAL MEASUREMENTS YEARBOOK. Edited by Oscar Buros. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949, pp. xiv+1047.

This publication is the sixth and most comprehensive of a series of surveys of the field of "mental measurement." Since the first work, a noncritical bibliography, appeared in 1935, the breadth of coverage has been increased to include original reviews and quoted reviews of tests and of books on testing. The purpose of its compilers to include all commercially available tests in the areas of education, psychology, and vocational guidance published in English between October 1940 and December 1947 has been so admirably fulfilled that the book is an invaluable source of information for social scientists interested in quantitative research.

The book is divided into two principal sections, the first entitled "Tests and Reviews" (pp. 1-750) and the second "Books and Reviews" (pp. 751-978). In addition to these there are five directories and indexes: Periodical Directory and Index, Publishers Directory and Index, Index of Titles, Index of Names, and Classified Index of Tests.

Section One, "Tests and Reviews," gives reference to 663 tests, reports 713 original reviews by 320 reviewers, quotes 66 review excerpts, and gives 3,368 sources of information concerning the construction, validity, reliability, and uses of specific tests. Section Two, "Books and Reviews," lists 549 books in measurements and associated fields and includes excerpts from 785 reviews of these books.

The editor, Dr. Oscar Buros, director of the Institute of Mental Measurements at Rutgers University, includes in his Preface a series of strikingly formulated objectives the "Yearbooks" are designed to serve. One of these is most candid and suitable for quotation during this period of change in the Social Sciences: "To inculcate upon test users a keener awareness of both the values and dangers which may accompany the use of standard tests" (p. x.). HAROLD T. DIEHL

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By Harold J. Laski. New York: The Viking Press, 1948, pp. x+785.

This commentary and interpretation of American democracy is uniquely a Laski product. Whether American readers agree with Laski's views or not, the book should be read with extraordinary interest because of his professional reputation in this country. Too many Americans tend to take their so-called way of life for granted; this book may stimulate them to critical and constructive thought.

Some of the finest writing in the book comes in the first two chapters, in which the traditions and the spirit of America are discussed. Chapter 9, on American culture, and the final chapter, in which Americanism is considered as a principle of civilization, also deserve special mention. The author deals with many fundamental aspects of American democracy as seen in political institutions, business enterprise, labor organization, religion, education, the professions, and even in the development and functions of press, cinema, and radio. America's minority problems and America's role as a world power are subjects examined at some length.

The author displays vast erudition and an acquaintance with American leadership, both historical and contemporary; he objectifies ideas and events by personalizing them to the point of becoming tiresome. Though this technique may be germane to his type of comment and interpretation, it distracts from his discussion of fundamental democratic values, and the book is longer than necessary. Many of the pages are stimulating and thought provoking; too many pages, however, are just provoking.

Throughout the book, Mr. Laski presents historical perspective and his conception of trends past and present, and sometimes future. Though he

takes into account, to some extent, data of a more local nature, one gains the feeling that Laski is more concerned with the national scene and that his judgments are excessively national. For example, the roles played by presidents and senators serve his technique of personalization of events, but lesser leaders in state and local politics are of comparatively little importance in his appraisal of American political democracy. The several states which comprise the American nation are becoming, for him, little more than provinces under the dominance of the national government. Our federalism has become nationalism. His admiration for the New Deal is not as realistic as it might be, though it is in harmony with the trend he would like to see in the United States—the "positive state." he would call it, though it is quite thoroughly incompatible with American democracy.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that Mr. Laski's judgment of American democracy has been unduly influenced by his British political background and his Fabian socialism, and that he does not actually feel the pulse of the American nation. In American federalism, the national government is not a superstate, and the preservation of state and local jurisdictions over their own affairs is vital to American democracy. A constant tug of war between national and state powers is characteristic of federalism, and Americans are aware of that problem. The trend toward excessive power and paternalism on the part of the national government needs to be checked, rather than encouraged toward the realization of Laski's positive state.

Similar criticism would apply to the discussion of the development of economic enterprise and labor organization. On some pages Mr. Laski writes with unbounded admiration concerning leaders in American industry and finance, and in labor organization. On other pages he shows that conditions have been tremendously corrupt, though his generalization of the roots of corruption tends to be too sweeping. As a matter of fact, America is a country in which there are big business, big labor organization, and big government. These aspects of bigness are not particularly admirable. The problem is to keep business, labor, and government under and within the law at several levels—national, state, and local. No solution would be forthcoming by adopting Mr. Laski's positive state.

De Tocqueville and Bryce examined American institutions and the way of life in terms which have become classic and will have lasting value. Laski could have done something of comparable nature for the American democracy of today, but there are, instead, too many views of his own which are not representative of the American pattern.   J.E.N.

FOUNDATIONS FOR WORLD ORDER. A Symposium. Denver: The University of Denver Press, 1949, pp. 174.

Seven authors contribute to this stimulating set of essays. For example, J. Robert Oppenheimer writes on "The Scientific Foundations for World Order"; Edward H. Carr, on "The Moral Foundations for World Order"; Robert M. Hutchins, on "The Constitutional Foundations for World Order"; Francis B. Sayre, on "Dependent Peoples and World Order."

The limitations of space give opportunity to present sample ideas from only one of the seven papers, namely, from that by Chancellor Hutchins. Traditional attitudes in the United States are expressed in the question, "Should foreigners be abolished, or should we save some to sell things to?" There can be no real communication where common principles do not exist. "We are in no present danger from communism. . . . The present danger to us lies in our own hysteria and our inertia." "Because of our inertia we will not recognize that our first obligation is to make our own system work until it must command the admiration and imitation of the world." "It can be little consolation to the Japanese who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki that they were killed by Ph.D.'s." "Our difficulty is not to get more knowledge or more goods, but to do the right thing with them when we get them."

This symposium contains more unity than might be apparent at first glance. Foundations for world order are laid on a number of different but related bases, for example, historical, scientific, moral, economic, constitutional. The reader is stimulated to organize the various viewpoints into some kind of related whole.   E.S.B.

SOCIAL LIFE. By John W. Bennett and Melvin M. Tumin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. 725.

Another worthy textbook for the general course in sociology has been authored by two young social scientists. Dr. J. W. Bennett is an anthropologist and Dr. M. M. Tumin is the sociologist. The empirical findings of anthropology, sociology, and psychology are presented to help explain the "togetherness" of human behavior. Both structure and function are analyzed as mutually related factors in social living.

Part I of this work is written under the title "The Social Life of Man" and the first chapter begins with the influences of race, the biologic and psysiographic influences, the condition of man, and functional prerequisites of continuous social life. Part II deals with the basic ideas of

sociology and presents such factors as general concepts, status and role, social relationship and interaction, differentiation, human aggregates, group and social category, institutions, culture and society, and socialization. While Part III investigates the relationship between society and personality, Part IV discusses largely urbanization and social stratification. Part V stresses the family, stratification systems, and "mass culture."

Most teachers using this new work will probably begin the course with Part II and then take up Part I. The facts of stratification receive considerable attention, perhaps more than is necessary in a general course. Some splendid charts are included to illustrate basic concepts. A word of praise is extended to the authors and publisher for producing a text with the general appearance of an attractive trade book.   E.C.M.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL CLASSES. A Study of Class Consciousness. By Richard Centers. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. xii+244.

A class is defined as a psychological phenomenon, a part of a person's ego, a feeling on one's part of belonging to something larger than one's self. Class is used to denote those "groupings of the population distinguished on the basis of self-affiliation." The author grants that this usage may seem arbitrary to some persons, but believes that his definition is the best available way of describing these "internally cohesive and genuinely functional social groupings." His method was that of making a public attitude survey of a representative cross section of white males over twenty-one years of age apportioned according to population ratios in each of the several regions of the United States. A total of 1,100 interviews according to an interview guide were obtained out of "a total of 1,200 interviews assigned." The interviewing was done in July 1945. The author does not make clear exactly how the interviews were conducted.

Some of the significant findings may be indicated. (1) No clear-cut difference was found between middle-class and working-class persons in their manifestation of anti-Jewish prejudice. Large majorities of both classes expressed unfavorable views toward Jews. (2) The working class is somewhat more anti-Negro than the middle class. (3) Middle-class women appear to be somewhat more liberal than the working class in their attitudes toward the economic freedom of women. (4) The middle class tends to be distinctly less frustrated than the working class. (5) The middle class has a greater desire for self-expression, while the working class has a greater desire for security. (6) The working class has a less well defined and well organized ideology and program of life than the middle class.

The cautious way in which these findings are stated indicates the need for more verifiable data in this field of research. Although the "upper class" were included in the study, few findings are suggested. On the whole, the study is meritorious, but it suggests much more research in this field of human relationships.   E.S.B.

SOCIALISM. By Paul M. Sweezy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949, pp. xiv+276.

The three parts of this book deserve separate comment. The author presents first his views of socialism in the world today, some distinctions being drawn between socialism and communism. After this preparation, there is a discussion of what the author considers to be socialism in the Soviet Union, with emphasis on its characteristics and achievements; it would be more realistic to point out the dictatorial and totalitarian methods of Soviet Russia, with its opportunistic use of whatever methods suit the purpose of Stalin's government, rather than credit so much to socialism.

While discussing socialism in Great Britain, a brief survey is made of the Labor party's rise to political power and its early program. Some general predictions for the future are made, but without any degree of assurance. The present program in Great Britain is likened to the American New Deal. The author's discussion of socialism in Eastern Europe is certainly not realistic, the Soviet technique of conquest and economic dominance being ignored completely. Revolutionary changes attributed to "socialist governments" in Eastern Europe include the distribution of land to the peasants, with a consequent destruction of the old landlord class; the nationalization of large-scale enterprise in industry, finance, transport, and communications; the adoption of economic planning; the replacement of policies leading to political and economic antagonisms (within the country or toward Russia?) by policies of mutual conciliation and collaboration. These and other changes the author would have us believe are being brought about quite naturally and voluntarily, no mention being made of the well-known pattern of a Soviet *coup d'etat* with its militarism, terrorism, etc., in either of the countries considered. It would appear that the USSR is a beneficent neighbor.

While analyzing the socialist movement through the century from 1848 to 1948, the view is taken that the movement has been consistently successful, any minor setbacks being interpreted as essential steps toward success. Marxism is presented as dominantly permeating Leninism and Stalinism as well as the socialist and Communist International movement.

It is generally known, however, that Marxism had to be modified through Leninism and Stalinism in so far as the ideology was effective in Soviet Russia.

It is emphasized by the author that, whatever criteria of efficiency or of incentives to work may be used in describing the capitalist system, there is no reason why the results may not be even better under socialism. Throughout the book the purpose of the author seems to be to justify socialism. He thinks that he proves his case by referring to the results of what he calls socialistic planning in Russia, in several European countries that were forced into the orbit of Soviet Russia, and by noting current changes effected in England under the Labor Government. He scoffs at utopian socialism, though as an ideologist he is none too realistic himself. He sees in literature and in world affairs only what he wants to see. He glosses over or omits mention of the gross failures in Soviet Russia, in the Soviet-controlled countries, and in England, where its program of nationalization has already proved costly and inefficient. The author apparently lives in a socialist ivory tower.   J.E.N.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss. New York: The Dryden Press, 1949, pp. xvi+549.

When a new text in any field appears it is important first of all to note the point of view or angle of approach. The authors aim to utilize empirical findings and to maintain "an eye to research implications." Their theme is "individual behavior" and they endeavor to answer the question: What are the chief consequences for individual behavior of the fact that "human beings are language-manipulating animals?" and also in the same connection, How does the fact that human beings live in social groups affect individual behavior?

The first part is concerned with the nature of language, of symbolic environments, of the group bases of language, of the child's acquisition of language, and of how all this leads to complex mental activities. The second part takes up "the child's internalization of group values" and the ways in which this process leads to "the development of complex verbally organized systems of responses" or roles. The third part discusses a number of personality factors such as the self, rationalization, projection. The fourth part considers two special fields of behavior: race and sex. The fifth part takes up social change and mass behavior, while the concluding section discusses selected methodological questions.

The approach to social psychology through a study of language behavior and symbolic environments appears to be both natural and logical. "Thinking as adaptive behavior" fits well into the total discussion. It is not clear, however, why the analysis of biological factors, for example, should have been placed at the end of the book rather than near the beginning. The "individual" seems to stand out, while the "interstimulation" receives for the most part indirect attention. As far as it goes, the book makes a fresh and valid addition to the increasing number of texts in its field.

E.S.B.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER: Combat and Its Aftermath. Volume II. By Samuel A. Stouffer, Arthur A. Lumsdaine, Marion H. Lumsdaine, Robin M. Williams, M. Brewster Smith, Irving L. Janis, Shirley A. Star, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 675.

The opinions of soldiers toward many aspects of military life have been ascertained and analyzed quantitatively. To some extent, it has been possible for military authorities to compare the feelings of men of varying degrees of experience or responsibility as they faced their great task of mortal combat. Opinions of soldiers before the Normandy invasion reveal the significant finding that verbal expressions and consequent actions are definitely related. For instance, infantry companies tested in England that were least willing for combat developed the highest nonbattle casualties in actual combat. However, the predictions were in terms of *units* of men, not *individuals*. The epitome of high morale may be expressed by the words of a platoon leader who remarked: "We are getting killed on the beaches—let's go inland and get killed."

The following list is representative of topics polled in the work under review: fear of combat, incentives to war, enlisted-officer relations, expectations of victory, vindictiveness toward enemy peoples, ratings of fearfulness of enemy weapons, appraisal of enemy weapons and equipment, tension symptoms resulting from combat exposure, changes in anxiety, reactions to rotation policy, opinions of the point system for military separation, and opinions of civilians. In addition to charts and graphs presenting the quantitative findings in percentages and correlations, some carefully selected quotations of the soldiers surveyed give the work an emotional reality difficult to present otherwise.

Some of the findings apparently are the verifications of common-sense judgments rather than the testing of significant hypotheses. The study

under review illustrates the operational approach to social psychology in
its most extensive form. Some readers looking for a yield of significant
principles of social psychology will be disappointed. Principles do not
emerge from the findings. It is hoped, however, that two subsequent vol-
umes by the authors may contain some theoretical residues resulting from
the analysis of thousands of questionnaires completed by soldiers. The vol-
umes planned or the one under review could investigate better assumptions
than "The closer men approached to combat, the more likely they were to
experience fear reactions" (p. 447).

Sociologists interested in the measuring of attitudes and opinions will
find this volume of great value. They will find the methodology challeng-
ing, the graphs depicting the findings revealing, and the style of language
superior.   E.C.M.

ADOLESCENT FANTASY. An Investigation of the Picture-Story Method of
    Personality Study. By Percival M. Symonds. New York: Columbia Uni-
    versity Press, 1949, pp. xii+397.

On the basis of forty-two carefully selected pictures forty adolescent
boys and girls wrote out stories induced by the pictures. The project was
based on Morgan and Murray's Thematic Apperception Test. The 1,680
stories were analyzed as to the "themes" involved in them. A total of
1,850 themes occurred three or more times with an average of 46.25
themes per individual. A grand total of 10,797 themes were recognized in
the 1,680 stories, or an average of 6.43 themes per story. The boys pro-
duced a greater variety of themes than did the girls. The themes fell into
three large groupings: psychological, environmental, and stylistic. A
"somewhat arbitrary distinction" was made between the first two types:
"What you do to another person is psychological; what another person
does to you is environmental." A total of 5,499 themes were considered
to be psychological, 4,804 were environmental, and 969 were stylistic.

A main purpose of the study was "to say exactly what story material
indicates with regard to the character of a person." To do this it is neces-
sary to learn as much as possible about the behavior and personality of
each person from him and from his parents and teachers. The necessary
interpretations of character are subjective but as such are considered to be
more incomplete than inaccurate. Correlations may be computed between
"the amount of correspondence or divergence" between the stories and the
life history material.

The themes that appear most frequently in the stories are "family,
aggression, punishment, economic concern, separation and love." Pro-

nounced trends in the personality of an individual were not found in the stories, whereas repressed needs and conflicts are expressed in fantasy. The projective method of research, illustrated by thematic apperception, receives considerable support from this study. At least certain possibilities in its use are classified.   E.S.B.

SOCIAL WELFARE

PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND INDUSTRIAL AMERICA. By Henry F. May. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. 297.

Dr. May, assistant professor of American history at Scripps College, has traced the united attitude of the five major denominations—Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian—toward socioeconomic problems. As the author is a social scientist with special interest in the church, the book makes interesting reading for both lay and clerical groups.

May states that traditional religious conservatism for many years had continued to preach the theories of *laissez faire,* the sanctity of the *status quo,* the moral rightness of unrestricted individualism, and the immorality of interfering with the law of supply and demand. After the late 1870's, these teachings were seriously challenged from within the church, partly in response to collectivist currents in sociology and economics. The writings of Spencer, Sumner, Ward, Small, Vincent, and Bellamy, among many others, are considered in their varying influences during this time upon theological thought. "From 1877 through the middle nineties, it became more and more difficult to believe that strikes, depressions, unemployment and bankruptcies were part of a Divinely-regulated and unchangeable social order." The Social Gospel was "perhaps the most characteristic and certainly the most spectacular development of Protestant thought in this period."

The author observed that social Christianity was divided into three wings—conservative, moderately progressive, and radical—and found expression in sermons, editorials, official gatherings, and even novels. Moderately progressive doctrines became characteristic of American Protestant leadership, placing particular emphasis upon the social rather than upon the individual. Perhaps the author fails here to bring out a possible third point of view, namely, a synthesis in which the individual and social emphases become bipolar aspects of a unified approach to social problems.

L. R. JUST

INTRODUCTION TO COMMUNITY RECREATION. By George D. Butler. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949, pp. xxxiv+568.

This revised edition brings the material on community recreation in the United States up to date. The author includes sections on the nature, extent, and significance of recreation; the functions, selection, and training of leaders; areas and facilities of public recreation; activities and program planning; the operation of areas and facilities, particularly playgrounds and indoor centers; program features and services; and organizational and administrative problems. It is designed chiefly as a practical guide or source book for recreation leaders.

The forms of recreation which require a large degree of organization and in which participation plays an important part are stressed. While various forms of community recreation are discussed, most of the material pertains to public recreation; but the descriptive presentation gives a good picture of the ramifications of community recreation facilities, programs, methods, and problems of administration. The book is obviously not intended especially for students of the social and psychological sciences, for little material of this type is used.   M.H.N.

WHITE COLLAR CRIME. By Edwin H. Sutherland. New York: The Dryden Press, 1949, pp. x+272.

The thesis of this challenging book is that persons of the upper socioeconomic class engage in much criminal behavior, that this criminal behavior differs from the criminal behavior of the lower socioeconomic class mainly in the administrative procedures used in dealing with the offenders, and that the variations in administrative procedure are not significant from the point of view of the causes of crime. Sutherland maintains that the cause of crime may be found in the differential association of persons. This principle of differential association applies to crimes of both the lower and upper socioeconomic classes. In general, white-collar crime is defined as a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation.

The court records of seventy large corporations in the United States are analyzed carefully over a period of about sixty years. It may surprise many readers to realize that each of the selected corporations had one or more decisions against it, with a maximum of fifty. The total number of court decisions against the seventy corporations amounted to 980, and hence the average corporation had 14.0 adverse decisions. Sixty corporations have decisions against them for restraint of trade; fifty-three for

infringement, forty-four for unfair labor practices, forty-three for miscellaneous offenses, twenty-eight for misrepresentation in advertising, and twenty-six for rebates.

The major categories of white-collar crimes are analyzed in a chapter coverage. Three chapters are devoted to an interpretation of the nature of white-collar crime. Some readers will be disappointed that the seventy corporations are listed by a code number rather than by name. However, Sutherland is not interested in social reform, but in social research on a significant problem. The facts revealed may be of special interest to federal and state legislatures. This little book is certain to provoke much controversy in academic circles, not to mention among some directors of corporations who are cited by implication. E.C.M.

SOCIALIST BRITAIN, Its Background, Its Present, and an Estimate of Its Future. By Francis Williams. New York: The Viking Press, 1949, pp. 278.

The author of this book is in a position to speak with authority about the British Labor party, for he is a former editor of Britain's *Daily Herald,* has given wartime service in the Ministry of Information, and acted as Adviser on Public Relations to Prime Minister Attlee. Mr. Williams has provided an able description of the silent revolution that has taken place in British political life and has pointed out the implications of this revolution for America and Russia.

Socialist Britain gives a picture of Britain's economic position at the time of the Labor party victory of 1945. Historical aspects of the party's rise to power are briefly portrayed, and illuminating character sketches are provided of the leaders—Attlee, Bevin, Cripps, and Morrison. The economic plans and social reforms currently being enacted are explained, with reference to the practical policies involved in their promotion and the doctrines underlying them. The resulting changes in Britain's social structure are concisely set forth. Statistics of production and consumer incomes are woven into the text.

The last two sections of the book are concerned with "Britain's Place in the World" and "The Problems Ahead"—this latter part deals with Britain as a great power and the question of liberty in a socialist regime. Although the book cannot claim to be an unbiased study, owing to the author's connections with the Labor party and his faith in its program, this work may well be regarded as the most satisfactory attempt to date to provide a comprehensive picture of the Labor Government's policies and theories. It is both factual and interpretative, lucid, and very readable. It deserves a wide American audience. JOHN E. OWEN

SOCIAL WORK YEARBOOK 1949. Edited by Margaret B. Hodges. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1949, pp. 714.

The usual high standard of this Yearbook is maintained in the new tenth edition. It gives an excellent description of organized activities in social work and to a certain extent in related fields such as public health and labor problems.

Part One contains seventy-nine signed articles on major social work topics and Part Two gives four directories of agencies whose programs are related to the signed articles. The four directories represent international agencies, governmental national agencies, voluntary national agencies, and Canadian agencies. A great many cross-references increase the usefulness of the volume.

New topical articles deal with chronic illness, homemaker service, and state-wide organization in social work; some of the topics from the preceding volume appear under modified titles. As a rule, when topics are omitted their subject matter has been incorporated under other headings. The volume is full of valuable information about social work developments; it is up to date and authentic.   E.S.B.

ELMTOWN'S YOUTH: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents. By August B. Hollingshead. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, pp. xvii+ 480.

"This book describes certain significant relationships found to exist between the social behavior of adolescents and social stratification in a Middle Western community immediately before the effects of World War II were apparent locally" (p. 3). The chief purpose of the study was to test the hypothesis that "the social behavior of adolescents is related functionally to the position their families occupy in the social structure of the community" (p. 439). The study group consisted of 735 adolescents, belonging to 535 different families. These families were classified into five main groups by leading citizens, using an elaborate system of classification, with items pertaining to the way the families live, their income and possessions, their participation in community affairs, and especially their prestige or standing in the community. The author and his family lived in the community and were participant observers in many groups. The structured interview or schedule was used as the main instrument for obtaining the data. The social behavior of adolescents was observed in connection with the school, the church, the job, recreation, the clique, dating, and sex.

After a description of the problems and procedures, the findings are presented under three headings: (1) the social scene, (2) the high school students, and (3) the out-of-school adolescents. The social scene, as described, includes the community setting, the prestige structure, cultural characteristics of the five classes (from the upper class to the lowest class), the school system, and the adolescents in the community. The activities and behavior patterns of the high school students are described under such headings as the school in action, the cliques and dates of the students, their religious behavior, their part-time jobs and ideas of jobs, and their recreation, including a discussion of tabooed pleasures. The out-of-school adolescents are discussed in regard to their problems—why they left school, their jobs and financial difficulties, leisure-hour activities, sex and marriage.

The book is replete with factual data presented in an interesting manner, giving the reader a graphic and enlightening picture of what "goes on" in a typical American community. The descriptive material gives a more penetrating insight into the social behavior of adolescents and the social structure of community life than any previous publication on these subjects. It also gives a good cross section of American life. The evidence seems to substantiate the author's final conclusion, that the "class system is far more vital as a social force in our society than the American creed" (p. 452).   M.H.N.

FORTY-FIVE IN THE FAMILY. By Eva Burmeister. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. 247.

A very human story of the life in Lakeside Children's Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is presented with marked insight by its director. Interesting descriptions are given of the children's interests in work, play, pets, and school. Specialized functions of the paid and voluntary staff members receive attention, including the roles of the following: housemother, housekeeper, cook, physician, psychiatrist, board member, and social worker. The social principles guiding this institution are modern, though the center is housed in an old building built in 1887 of red brick and white stone standing three stories high. Miss Burmeister is of the opinion that the friendly attitudes pervading the institution would be lost in a group of modern cottages. Inasmuch as many people have the stereotype of an orphanage as a place of sorrow and unhappiness, this book will serve the purpose of correcting that impression. The book will be of interest to a wide range of readers.   E.C.M.

THE PEOPLE'S YEARBOOK, 1949. Prepared by the Publications Department,
    Cooperative Wholesale Society. Manchester: Cooperative Wholesale
    Society, 1949, pp. 132.

In this unique and important annual publication of the cooperative
movement in England a number of signed articles appear. The topics
treated include The Cooperative Union and the future, C. W. S. produc-
tion in the years ahead, the future of cooperative insurance, the changing
pattern of retail management, the future of democratic education, the
scope of cooperative politics. Several tables of statistics regarding the de-
velopment of cooperatives in England are given and indicate a remarkable
degree of steady growth. A directory of cooperative organizations is in-
cluded. Many photographic illustrations add to the value of the sym-
posium.

Numerous significant statements are made. The cooperative movement
must defend itself from its opponents with vigor and courage. It cannot
afford to allow its work to be swallowed up by the state socialism of the
Labor party. The chief cooperative pattern is that of raising "the standards
of social consciousness." The strength of cooperatives will be measured
"by the efficiency and expansion of our services to the consumer." Their
voluntary nature must be preserved. "Social unrest is inevitable if reform
is too far behind technology, or is pressed too thoughtlessly before it."
The cooperative movement is "a great campaign for the advancement of
all mankind." It seeks "to encourage the qualities of self-help and of
mutual help, of individualism and social service, of enterprise and devotion
to the common good." According to this yearbook, the cooperative move-
ment in England is aware of the problems that lie immediately ahead and
is proposing to work out solutions by careful study and discussion.

                                                            E.S.B.

CREDIT UNIONS—BASIC COOPERATIVES. By Jerry Voorhis. New York:
    The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1949, pp. 44.

This splendidly printed document gives elementary data on such topics
as: what credit unions are, the need for credit unions, how credit unions
are organized and operated, how they serve their members, and how they
help each other. One thesis is that credit speeds up the flow of goods and
services to the ultimate consumer when it is used in the interest of people
as consumers, as is done in the case of cooperative credit unions. Another
basic idea is that in a credit union "the people, in effect, pay interest to
themselves when they borrow." The author, who was a Congressman in
Washington for ten years, is an authority on economic problems and a
dependable spokesman in behalf of people everywhere who are in need.

QUEST FOR SETTLEMENT. New York: Refugee Economic Corporation, 1948, pp. 82.

This monograph contains summaries of reports for twenty-five countries or political areas in the Americas, Africa, the Middle East, Southwest Pacific, and the tropics. Its purpose is to condense the findings of geographic studies made for the Refugee Economic Corporation, representing localities throughout the world suitable for development by European settlers.

As a part of each summary, there is a statement of the qualifications of the scientists who conducted the research, with brief appraisal of the works cited. As a general pattern, information is given concerning the area of the country, its population, climate, and general living conditions, with mention of any opportunities in agriculture or industrial occupations for new settlers. Particular attention is given to exceptional advantages or disadvantages for immigration. Estimates are submitted regarding each country's supporting capacity.   J.E.N.

FOUNDATIONS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. By R. Carter Nyman. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company in association with Modern Industry Magazine, 1949, pp. xiii+209.

Management, says author Nyman, who is personnel director at Yale, has failed to achieve constructive industrial relations because it has not taken advantage of an "objective application of administrative principles having validity in terms of scientific knowledge of human relations and human reactions." The objective of the book then is to suggest "tentatively and hypothetically those concepts and principles which underlie a scientifically valid approach to the administration of industrial relations." Let us see what some of these are, according to the claims of the author: (1) what men most fear and hate is the power of domination and arbitrary authority in the hands of other men; (2) management, on the whole, has been neglectful of the factor of subconscious motivation; (3) human beings are motivated fundamentally by inherent biological needs, one of which is the need for a psychological adequacy. Nothing very startling about these, but then they are merely tentative principles. Three basic conditions for constructive human relations are cited: (1) all concerned must be assured a status of independence and self-respect; (2) all must have a realistic common understanding of their interdependent needs and interests; and (3) administrative development, direction, and control must be accomplished by intelligent application of the principle of integration in resolving conflicts in special needs and interests. The author believes

that the unionism of today is a political-revolutionary one rather than an
economic brand, and that this is an obstruction to the betterment of in-
dustrial relations. It is the kind of unionism, however, that management
asked for when it pursued a stupid policy in labor exploitation. The day
of cooperation will be ushered in only when management becomes con-
vinced of its desirability and understands the underlying scientific prin-
ciples of human relations, and when employees find that they do not need to
depend upon power politics, but that, through the right kind of organiza-
tions, they can solve their problems over the collective bargaining table.
The author, while writing with an eye on management, succeeds in
making a seemingly objective presentation of the facts, which is good.

                                                                    M.J.V.

✓FORTY YEARS WITH THE CO-OP. Recollections and Reflections. By Her-
    bert Laws. Southampton: Southampton Cooperative Society, 1948, pp. 119.

The modest general manager reports in this significant book a number
of interesting facts and many valuable experiences. When put together
these data give considerable insight into the history of the Southampton
Cooperative Society in particular and of the cooperative movement in
England in general. The account reveals how many cooperators are
devoting their lives wholeheartedly to the cooperative movement as a
democratic way of life. It also shows the nature of some of the transitions
and changes taking place in the movement. It is a kind of case study of
the problems that a cooperative faces and also of the way that the co-
operative meets these problems. Mr. Laws points out that the continuing
success of cooperatives against powerful opposition is due to "the innate
qualities of heart and mind, the practical common sense, the tenacity of
purpose, and the almost religious fervor" of cooperators.   E.S.B.

✓JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By Paul W. Tappan. New York: McGraw-Hill
    Book Co., Inc., 1949, pp. xix+613.

This book presents a broad treatment of the nature and extent of
delinquency, its causes, the delinquent in court, and the treatment process.
An attempt is made to summarize and evaluate objectively the data per-
taining to delinquency. After a consideration of the nature of delinquency,
which is interpreted chiefly from the legal point of view, though its be-
havioral content is noted, statistics are presented to show the extent of the
problem.

The treatment of causation is limited to an interpretation of some of the
findings of research projects in biology, psychology, and sociology, but few

details are given. The social variables of delinquency are discussed in one short chapter, with brief references to the family, poverty and unemployment, leisure time and associations (including gangs), and wartime influences, omitting other important social conditions. Only a few sociological studies are referred to in this section.

The major portion of the book is devoted to legal considerations in handling children and young people who have gotten into difficulty. The operation of the juvenile court, the confusion of the court, the functions of courts for adolescents, and the role of the judge are ably described. Special attention is given to the sociolegal aspects of courts that deal with the juvenile delinquent and the adolescent offender, with a number of chapters being devoted to probation, juvenile detention, institutional treatment, and unofficial methods of treatment and prevention.

M.H.N.

RACES AND CULTURE

THREE REPORTS ON THE MALAYAN PROBLEM. By David R. Rees-Williams, Tan Cheng Lock, S. S. Awbery, and F. W. Dalley. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1949, 46 mimeographed pages.

The Foreword by Mr. Holland, Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Affairs, indicates that these reports represent a British view of contemporary political problems and military conflict in Malaya. The official British attitude toward the people of Asia and their problems is much more sharply defined in obscure sentences and phrases of the text. For example, the plan for free public primary education includes a scheme for "a gradual elimination of the present system of vernacular schools, *and everyone will learn English.*" "Everyone" includes about 4,800,000 Malayans, Chinese, and Indians! There are several references in the reports to the fact that Malaya produces more profit per dollar invested than any other British colony; yet the Malayans, not the British, were forced to pay the $12,000,000 cost of importing British troops to suppress the postwar disorders.

In short, the "Malayan Problem" turns out to be a witches' brew of British colonial administration, attitudes of "white superiority" in Asia, trade unions fostered by the British and used to advantage by the Communists, Chinese Kuomintang manipulation, Chinese Communist organization, and Malayan nationalism plus the confusion of a war fought against the Japanese by all these groups.

Three distinct racial groups have different answers for these problems. The 2,400,000 Malays who grow the rice and rubber and catch the fish want an independent Malayan State in which they will have major control. The 1,900,000 Chinese and 500,000 Indians who work the docks, mines, and industries and control the commerce want an independent state in which they will have all the rights of citizenship.

Chinese Communists, Chinese Nationalists, and the British Government are each trying to bring their kind of order into that confusion in Malaya. The three reports in this study are an indication of what the British are trying to do.   ARCHIE R. CROUCH

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. Franklin Frazier. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949, pp. 767.

The gradual emergence of the Negro in American life is the theme of this splendid work. The book under review does not compete with Myrdal's classic study, *The American Dilemma,* inasmuch as Frazier stresses the historical development of specialized Negro interests and institutions. The clash of American ideals of democratic action and practices of race prejudice is not the center of discussion in this analysis. The first hundred pages of the text, organized under Part I, deal with the significance of the African background, the evolution of the slave status, the plantation as a social institution, the free Negro, and the slave revolts. Part II, consisting of about seventy pages, depicts the Civil War and Reconstruction period as major influences on the Negro. Parts III and IV, approximately four hundred pages in length, focus attention on the following institutions and communities: growth and distribution of the Negro population, rural and urban communities, social and economic stratification, the Negro family, the Negro church, mutual aid and fraternal organization, business enterprise, elementary and secondary schools, institutions for higher education, Negro press and literature, social movements and race consciousness, Negro leaders, and the Negro intelligentsia. Each one of the above-mentioned topics is analyzed in its historical setting and the development of it traced to the present time. Part V, about sixty pages in length, discusses some of the current problems of the Negro under such headings as the following: health, unemployment, family disorganization, crime, mental deficiency and insanity, and race relations.

The chief advantage of this book over the Myrdal treatment is that the historical reasons accounting for the present ethnic problems are carefully presented. Each of the major problems in white-Negro relations has

a past, and Professor Frazier has done an excellent job in setting forth the evolutionary pattern with distinct objectivity. The book is written in an engaging style, the illustrative material is significant, and the factual material has been carefully documented. Dr. Frazier does not believe that the contemplated system of segregated higher education for white and Negro on a regional basis in the South is a major social innovation. Southerners have termed the experiment in Jim Crow education the most radical step in one hundred years. Time will answer this question. Dr. Frazier's book is a serious piece of work that merits a wide reading public.

E.C.M.

MIRROR FOR MAN. By Clyde Kluckhohn. New York: Whittlesey House, 1949, pp. xiv+313.

The relation of anthropology to modern life is the principal theme of this stimulating book, which is more comprehensive and informative than one may expect from its size. The author defines in lucid and simple language whatever anthropological terms are necessary for his purpose, which is to show how various aspects of the discipline known as anthropology can help break down national prejudices, and to show the importance of understanding human behavior in the past in order to deal more intelligently with problems of the present and the future.

The study of queer customs, potsherds, and skulls in anthropological fashion provides an approach for solving the problems of contemporary peoples, whether primitive or advanced in civilization. Current racial and linguistic fallacies are neatly disposed of as barriers to progress in world organization. Human nature is, of course, regarded as changeable, so there is hope for improvement in man's way of life. It is shown that anthropologists have made specific contributions concerning some of the fundamental issues of war and peace, both national and international in scope. While disposing of several popular fallacies, a feeling of optimism is also created.

Anthropology as conceived by the author is closely interwoven with other social sciences, and some of the credit he claims for his own science would in no little measure be applicable elsewhere among these related disciplines. The author says, for instance, that "the sociologist, psychologist, and psychiatrist pilfer data from tne factual storehouse of the anthropologist to test a theory, to illustrate a point, or to find a new question that needs formulation and verification" (p. 294). It is a pleasure to admit the value of anthropology to the field of sociology and other social sciences and particularly for cultural sociology. Furthermore, all the social

sciences have some differences in methodology which should justify their existence as separate disciplines, anthropology being only one of these social sciences. As treated by the present author, there would seem to be little distinction between anthropology and such sciences as sociology, psychology, and the whole range of social studies. Anthropology as the scientific study of man becomes, thanks to such egocentrism, all-inclusive. This criticism is not intended to minimize the value of the book, however, because it shows exceptionally well how anthropology, enriched by other social sciences, has much to contribute to modern life.   J.E.N.

CHINESE RUSSIAN RELATIONS. By Michel N. Pavlovsky. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. viii+194.

This book deals with what the author calls "a unique phenomenon in world history. . . two empires, both in full swing of expansion, which succeeded in achieving a delineation of their interests and in establishing an extensive common frontier without at any time, over a period of three centuries, having had recourse to war." Such a statement is protected by calling 300 years of armed clashes between China and Russia "conflicts of a transitory character."

It is refreshing to have a book on Chinese-Russian relations based almost entirely upon Chinese, Russian, and French documents, many of them the original accounts of the events under study. From such sources the author, a member of the faculty of l'Aurore University in Shanghai, has culled interesting details of a personal, diplomatic, and military nature which add flesh to the somewhat bare outline of early contacts between these two nations.

Some interesting light is shed on the following points: the similarity of Chinese and Russian interests in the sparsely settled areas to the north and west of China, the identity of Russian expansion patterns toward China under both the Tsarist empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the role of Mongolia caught in the squeeze between two expanding nations, the influence of the Jesuits in early Chinese-Russian relations, and the role of Russian *émigrés* in China.

This book is by no means complete in its treatment of Chinese-Russian relations, and it has very little value taken by itself and unconnected with more general works on the same subject. Used with other books, it adds the flavor of unusual information, making the whole more palatable and digestible.   ARCHIE R. CROUCH

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